

The Rise & Fall of Paramount Volume One, 1917-1927

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The first installment of The Rise & Fall of Paramount (1917-1932), a two-volume omnibus of words, images, and music in a limited-edition cabinet-of-wonder format.

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Preface



ounded in 1917, Paramount Records was but one of the homegrown record labels—along with Broadway, Puritan, and Famous—of the New York Recording Laboratories (NYRL), a

subsidiary of a chair company in Wisconsin with operations near Lake Michigan. No outsized hopes were pinned to Paramount or its sister companies; its founders knew nothing of the music business, the records themselves a mere expedient to drive sales of expensive phonograph cabinets it had recently begun manufacturing.

Lacking both the resources and the interest to compete for top talent, Paramount's earliest recordings were popular songs of the day by its house band or name artists past their prime, produced as cheaply as possible. In its first five years it focused on popular and classical music but gained little foothold with the listening public. Paramount supplemented its income by licensing its titles to other labels and pressing records for others as a contract manufacturer. It saved money by using the cheapest materials to press its records, exchanging masters with willing labels, and using others' recording facilities rather than constructing its own.

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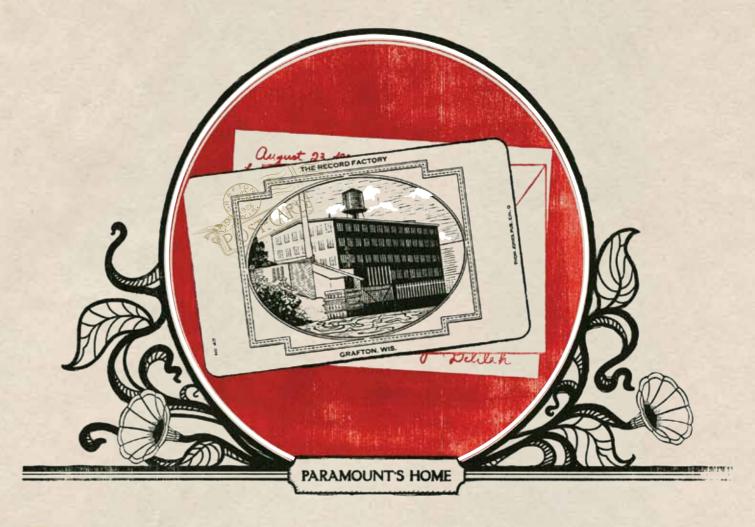
These steps weren't enough to ensure success.

In 1922, on the threshold of bankruptcy, Paramount embarked on a new business plan that had recently proven successful for other record companies: selling the music of Black artists to Black audiences (products that quickly became known as "Race Records"). Advertising in newspapers dedicated to Black readership like the Chicago Defender and the New Amsterdam News, and utilizing other strategies such as local talent scouts and sales agents in the South, unconventional distribution channels, an "open door" recording policy, direct mail order and the eventual hiring of the first Black executive in a White-owned record company, Paramount expanded its footprint and eventually garnered many of the biggest selling titles in the Race Records era.

By the time it ceased operations in 1932, NYRL had pressed and shipped hundreds of thousands of records—including more than 2,300 recordings of blues, gospel and jazz in its Paramount Race Records series alone—and compiled a roster of performers that would rival any other assemblage of talent ever housed under one roof, featuring the likes of: Louis Armstrong, Charley Patton, Ethel Waters, Coleman Hawkins, Son House, Fletcher Henderson, Skip James, Jimmy Blythe, Alberta Hunter, Fats Waller, Blind Blake, King Oliver, Ma Rainey, James P. Johnson, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Johnny Dodds, Papa Charlie Jackson, and Jelly Roll Morton.

These are the facts but they hardly tell the story. This collection, the first of a two-volume omnibus of words, music and images that helps flesh out Paramount's tale, chronicles the period of the label's unlikely Rise—its first ten years.

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Introduction: Out of the Anonymous Dark

What's signed, is signed; and what's to be, will be; and then again, perhaps it won't be, after all.

-Herman Melville, Moby Dick



ecember 1933. Evening. Grafton, Wisconsin. A knot of bundled up White people—factory workers, clerks, even a few secretaries—are standing on the roof of the Grafton record factory, along the banks of the Milwaukee River.

They're angry. They've just been fired during the company's Christmas party. It's the middle of the Depression. Many had worked for Paramount Records—one of several labels whose records were pressed at the factory—their entire adult lives

and had lived in the small town of Grafton for several generations.

Most likely, the people up there would have been drinking at the party, given that Prohibition just ended. A few of the boldest and drunkest might have cursed the factory owner's name. Old Man Moeser. Maybe even spoken ill of Moeser's wife, who a few years back had invited Ma Rainey and Lemon Jefferson to her house when they were big sellers, even though she didn't approve of the Race Records the company manufactured or the musi-

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cians who made them. Blacks, it was said, made her nervous.²

The group of workers can hear the river rushing down below, where a dam, sluice, and waterwheel have long powered the record pressing plant, an archaic system that has slowed record production for years.3 After the crash, record sales dropped dramatically. Everyone knew it. Still, they kept recording and pressing records, thinking it all might turn around. That they might find another moneymaker, another Blind Lemon Jefferson. But now here they are, up on the roof. Stacked at their feet, hundreds of records the factory had pressed during the last fifteen years, records made from shellac but also fillers like pipe clay, cotton flock, and other industrial odds and ends. They'd stopped by the stock room on their way up, gathered these records and some metal recording masters in their arms. Let's have ourselves a little fun, someone must have said. One or two had likely brought a lighted kerosene lamp. The workers' bodies throw long shadows over the roof. A few hold up the records to the light. Call out names from the labels, just below the iconic Paramount eagle and globe. Son House. Blind Blake. Jelly Roll Morton. Ethel Waters. Papa Charlie Jackson. Alberta Hunter. Skip James. Charley Patton. Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Original Washboard Band. Names vaguely familiar from invoices but that sound strange on their tongues. Still, these records have been their livelihood, peculiar songs made for peculiar people they'll never meet. It must have given a few of them pause—considering the cataclysmic changes the Depression had brought—to think how quickly things come into being and go out again, almost like they never were.

In any case, it's a cold night in December, so they get on with things. They sling the records into the dark, toward the river. They can hear some of them smash on the rocks along the riverbank. Others make it to the water, drift downstream, they imagine, or settle to the clay bottom. The metal recording masters would've glinted, mak-

ing a sharper sound when they hit, their last note.

Over the next decade, a generation of young Grafton boys will visit this same factory after it's abandoned and they too will grab armfuls of left-behind records, fling them, explode them against the factory walls. Not out of anger but boredom, a young person's need to break everything and begin again.⁴

It's remarkable that the Paramount recordings arguably one of the greatest single archives of America's rich musical heritage—exist at all. Music that will influence all of the popular music and culture to come. Prophetic music. Paramount's erratic business practices, inattention to detail, inordinate cheapness, chicanery, and, at times, outright ignorance of what they were recording and for whom, should have doomed it to irrelevance. But like a record company Jonah, the more they tried to run from the voices, the more readily the voices seemed to find them. Paramount's story is really part of the larger American story, which, like all great and lasting ones, is full of paradox, self-deception, illusion, and chance. There's an intimation in Paramount's story, like our own, that all is not as it seems. That the foolish, profane, and ephemeral might only be masks worn by the transcendent.

Back on the factory roof, the group of workers must have stood around afterwards, smoking, talking, feeling oddly exhilarated, not wanting to leave but knowing it's time. This is how the story ends, they're thinking. But the voices out there in the anonymous dark, drifting downriver, still have something to say.





Left: Jimmy
O'Bryant's
(Famous Original)
Washboard Band,
1925. Papa Charlie
Jackson, Jasper
Taylor, Irene Wiley,
Arnold Wiley,
Jimmy O'Bryant.
Irene Wiley tore
out her image here,
preferring the
photo of herself
and Arnold Wiley
at right.

¹ Alex van der Tuuk *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 187.

² Ibid., 101, 186.

³ Ibid., 39.

⁴ Ibid., 188



The Great Migration

I take SPACE to be the central fact to man born in America, from Folsom cave until now. I spell it large because it comes large here. Large, and without mercy.... Some men ride on such space, others have to fasten themselves like a tent stake to survive.

—Charles Olson, Call Me Ishmael



917. A young black man on a train moving up the Illinois Central Line to Chicago. Outside the window, a great emptiness crosshatched with railroads, threaded by a river. A

few no account towns. A sea of prairie.

He'd left New Orleans early morning. Left everyone and everything he knew. His mother and her boyfriends. (Two who liked him, one who beat on him.) Left his friends. Never been anywhere else. New Orleans fills his head, water brimming a levee. So out in that emptiness he's passing through, he builds the Eagle Saloon at the corner of Rampart and Perdido. Hears Buddy Bolden making some music, though he doubts he ever really heard him, probably was only told. The young man worked for a Jewish family for a while. Name of Cohen. Small jobs. Yard work, leaf raking. He likes the smell of burning leaves. The Cohens gave him afternoons off to play

- Great Migration

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trombone for funerals and dances. A substitute for a substitute in the Olympia Band. He even had a girl. Gladys. Light skinned. Skinny. She worked for a family two doors down from the Cohens. The young man stutters some when he's nervous, the space between what he wants to say and can get out, so wide. She asks him, why you so peculiar? She presses her palm to his chest when she says it. You kiss funny. He cups her breasts in his hands. What's an embouchure? He thumbs her nipple. Tries to remember to kiss her when he does this. Love or something like it. Trying to play notes that aren't in the song. Blue notes. Then Mr. Cohen died and the family had to let him go and all the substitute band work dried up. And Gladys took up with somebody older who knew what was what. Razor scar over his lip.

Now, headed to Chicago, he worries about appearing the fool. Wonders what the girls are like there. Concentrates on the swaying of the cars, the steady clocking of the train. He nods off a few times, seeing Rampart and Perdido, hearing Buddy Bolden blow his cornet. King Oliver who beat Freddie Keppard in a cutting contest.

He wakes to see a Pullman Porter walking through the train car. The Pullman Porters tell you how to feel about it, he thinks. Watch their faces. Chicago right there. Emissaries from that other world, pressed uniforms and rounded hats. Some high yellow, some dark skinned. Confident stride. Humming a tune he can't catch.

He worries he'll be invisible in Chicago, his nobody-ness lost in its big spaces. He knows he's no Keppard or Oliver or Kid Ory. He worries it'll all be a mistake. In his head he plays the funeral march standard, "Didn't He Ramble," tamps it all down.

Someone will pick him up in Chicago at the 12th Street station, take him to his mother's cousin's place off Calumet Avenue. They'll say *Goddamn, Son. You a sight.* Give him a job in the kitchen peeling potatoes for somebody's somebody. So cold in Chicago he has to wear his long drawers underneath his trousers and they poke out round his ankles, making him look the fool. He can feel the peeled potato rounded and cold in his hand. Hear the naked thud it makes in the basket.

The prairie outside the train window stretches on and on.

He opens his trombone case across his knees. The brass glints. He feels the promise of the slide between his fingers. All that space out there concentrated into this.

* *



The Black Metropolis



he Black Metropolis on the South Side of Chicago, around 35th and State, lives and breathes. It's 1917 and there aren't any streetlights yet, but the Stroll, as it's called, doesn't

need them. Lit like an arc light. Midnight like noon. Hot music plays everywhere, spilling out of cafés, cabarets, theaters, into the street, mixing with the sounds of car horns, barkers, shouts from upper windows, police sirens, punctuated here and there by gunshots.⁵ "The Black Athens," the *Chicago Defender* newspaper calls it. High Black style. Liberating. Dangerous, too. Con men, gangsters. Everything permitted but nothing free. A siren's song for

the tens of thousands of African-Americans arriving from the rural South during the Great Migration, away for the first time from the pull of extended family, churches, the crushing weight of old hatreds.⁶

Porters, clerks, and postal workers leave work, sleep until 2 a.m. and are out on the Stroll in their finest to soak it all in.⁷ It's too much, too overwhelming, but then it's just right and irresistible. Hot music's piano master, Jelly Roll Morton, who's recently published his arrangement of "Jelly Roll Blues," holds sway along the Stroll with his rhythmic miracles and showmanship—a Creole, reinventing himself, who's seen wearing a Stetson bowler, a red

- Black Metropolis

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bandana draping his neck, diamonds glinting in his teeth. But now Bill Johnson's Original Creole Orchestra's ragged, assertive style had changed everything. In 1916, Freddie Keppard, the band's brilliant cornet player, had a chance to be the first recorded jazz star for Victor Talking Machine Company but apparently turned it down for fear of others stealing his fingering style (word has it he wears a handkerchief over his fingering hand while he plays, his fingers too good for this world).8 Or maybe it was the pay, \$25 for the session, which Freddie Keppard said wouldn't even cover his daily gin tab. Another story had it that a Victor executive had made a racially disparaging remark and Keppard—drunk, enraged—had refused to come back to the studio.9

A rising tide of other New Orleans musicians is making its mark in the Black Metropolis, a city within a city that will swell to 100,000 people by 1920. Female blues singers come from other areas of the country, play the vaudeville theatres, like future Black Swan and Paramount star Ethel Waters from Philadelphia, known then as "Sweet Mama Stringbean," whom Bessie Smith once intimidated (fortuitously it will turn out) into singing popular songs instead of blues when they shared a bill in Atlanta, 10 and who has developed a unique ability to bring blues feeling to popular song and stage. By 1917, Alberta Hunter, a blues singer from Tennessee who will later record for Paramount and enjoy at least three second acts in her singing career (the last when she's in her eighties), is already a wildly successful mainstay in the South Side's Black vaudeville theaters and cabarets. The mother of the blues, Ma Rainey, from Georgia, already thirty-one, whose open sexuality twined with her powerful gutbucket blues performances have already deeply influenced Bessie Smith, and so many others.

It's still three years before Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues" creates the huge demand for Race Records, for blues and hot music, so nobody knows yet what recording even means-nobody knows if these performances on records are anything but gimmicks. But performers know other musicians will play these records until the grooves wear down to steal their style, all the tricks they've spent years honing. Besides, recording pays next to nothing. The shows are where it's at. It's still nearly ten years before the talkies and radio arrive, so Black vaudeville, with its blackface minstrel song and dance traditions and musical accompaniment to silent films, its spectacle, is still king.

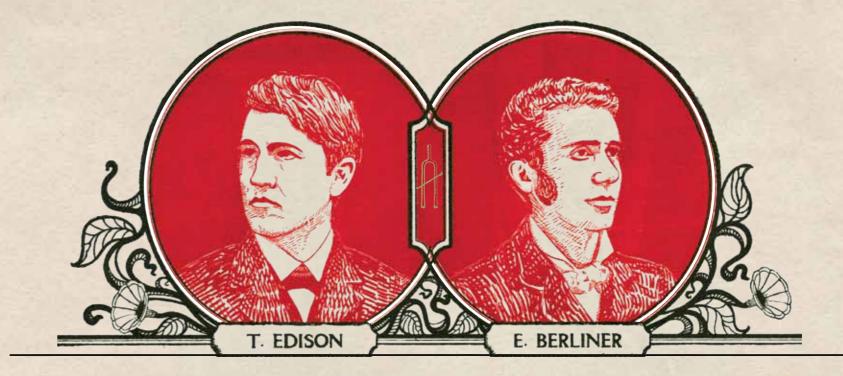
But the wave of modernism, accelerated by the war in Europe, is already on its way. In January of 1917, the all-white Original Dixieland Jass Band had issued the first recording of hot music, "Livery Stable Blues," and proclaimed themselves the inventors of "jass." And even with this self-serving fiction, they carved a space for everything to come. The rest of the notes have yet to be played but the tune is already in the ear. Already the Great Migration is changing everything, a whole race molding the urban spaces of the north into the shapes of its own sufferings and joys.

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- William Howland Kennedy, *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History*, (Oxford University Press, 1993), 13-15.
- 5 Ibid., 11.
- 7 Ibid., 12
- 8 Laurence Bergreen, *Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life* (Broadway Books, 1997), 213.
- 9 Pete Whelan, written response about Keppard's reasons for not recording.
- 10 Donald Bogle, *Heat Wave: the Life and Times of Ethel Waters*, (Harper Collins, 2011), 39.
- 11 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 52.







A Brief History of the Phonograph



ike Paramount Records itself, the first sound recording machine was the result of a fortuitous accident. In 1877, Thomas Edison was experimenting on a telegraph repeater, a device to

amplify telegraph signals over long distances, when, as an adjunct to the experiment, he invented a recorder, a "phonograph" with a rotating cylinder, which stored the patterns of sound waves in spiral grooves. By 1887, Edison further developed these "vertical," or "hill and dale" modulating groove recording devices into machines that could play rotating beer can-shaped wax cylinders and an early ver-

sion of a "vertical cut" flat disc phonograph as well.¹² Edison, usually so culturally prescient, didn't quite yet understand its significance beyond the practical. The economic potential of recorded entertainment—performance, music, the future high-flying, rhythmic wonders of Dixon's Jazz Maniacs' "Tiger Rag" or Preston Jackson's hard swinging "It's Tight Jim" or Jimmy O'Bryant's burning, writhing clarinet on "Shake That Thing"—wouldn't be understood for years yet.

The early phonograph machines were primarily intended to revolutionize business practice: stenography, telegraphy, workplace communi-

Freddie Keppard, ca. 1918.

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cation. In 1888, a competing inventor, Emile Berliner, was granted a patent for a flat-disc phonograph that stored sound patterns "laterally" (*i.e.*, in a zig-zag pattern) within a basic spiral path around a rotating disc. Both cylinder and disc phonographs had a limitation that would greatly influence the development of popular music: the devices would only record between two and four minutes of sound.¹³

Emile Berliner seems the first of the inventors to look at the phonograph primarily as an entertainment and cultural medium, though Edison, "The Wizard of Menlo Park," soon took advantage of these possibilities as well. Edison's first commercial cylinder player and Berliner's flat disc player debuted the same year, 1889, but both suffered from poor sonic range (limited to the middle frequencies) and their cost, at around \$190, was well beyond most people's reach.14 Manufacturers tried to attract opera singers to the new medium but the singers feared it would soil their reputations to be associated with what they saw as a crude novelty, something that would degrade their art. But gradually, over a decade, prices on some models fell to \$25, the sound quality improved, and, in 1902, the first records made in Italy by the famed opera tenor Enrico Caruso—whose later American records Louis Armstrong would own and listen to on his Victrola in New Orleans¹⁵—began to open the eyes of the public and the industry to the medium's possibilities.

Two competing phonograph technologies had emerged by 1912. Columbia and Victor (successor to Berliner's invention rights) had broken from the pack of American record companies by pooling their patent agreements for the lateral flat disc. Edison, meanwhile, had developed a vertical disc which was bet-

ter made (composed of a complex plastic, not shellac, but consequently more expensive) and supposedly sounded better than his competitors' shellac lateral discs. Still, for Edison the technology came first, with the music itself more of an afterthought—he refused to list the artists' names on Edison brand records until 1915.

Eventually, lateral flat discs won the day over both cylinders and Edison's vertical discs. Lateral discs were easier to store and had a longer playing time than cylinders. And when Columbia and Victor's patents on the lateral system ran out (Edison apparently hadn't fully understood the implications of patent trench warfare), other record manufacturers flooded the market with lateral discs, providing many more options than Edison could on vertical discs. By 1920, the popularity of the cylinder had faded and Edison was the last vertical-cut disc manufacturer still standing.16 Five years later, despite his insistence on the superiority of his vertical-cut technology, Edison had to offer an attachment to his phonograph to allow it to play lateral-cut records. By 1928 he was marketing his own version of lateral-cut technology, but he had lost far too much market share: 1929 saw the closure of Edison Records and the redeployment of its staff and resources into the phenomenon that was radio.

No one really saw the ballroom dance craze coming. But because of it, by 1915, demand for disc records in America had increased exponentially, and scores of independent disc record manufacturers began to enter the market. Two of these independent labels—Vocalion, in 1916, with their distinctive reddish-brown shellac discs, and Okeh, in 1918—would become integral to the rise of popular music. Encouraged by the surge in sales, some record com-

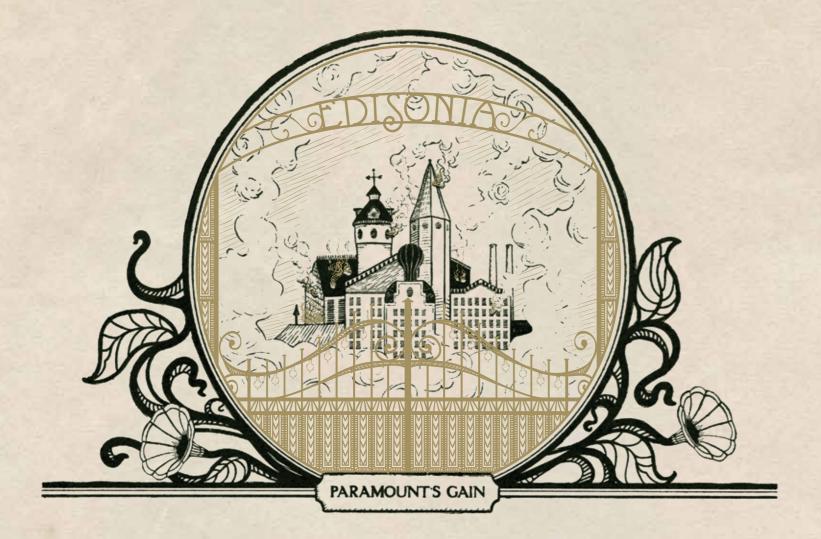
Phonograph —

panies started to offer a greater number and wider variety of records and began to manufacture elaborate wooden cabinets around their phonograph, often hiding its awkward horn behind a decorative panel. To compete with Victor's Victrola cabinets, Edison introduced "period-style" (English, French, Italian, and Gothic styles) cabinets¹⁷ in 1916, but the public didn't respond enthusiastically and Victor remained the standard bearer. (Paramount introduced its own Vista Talking Machine Co. phonograph cabinet in 1918, though none of its six models was commercially successful. ¹⁸ A replica of one of its earliest phonograph brochures is included in this volume.)

During World War I, even American soldiers in the trenches had access to phonographs and records. In an August 1918 issue, the trade publication *Talking Machine Weekly* ran advertisements for Empire Talking Machine Company of Chicago's \$35 portable phonograph "for the boys 'over there' and 'over here." At the same time, there was even one similarly priced portable model named "The Recruit" being promoted in *TMW*: "for the Army, for the Navy, for the home defense." The British company behind the Decca portable, first manufactured in 1914, claimed to have sold 100,000 phonographs to England's active servicemen during the War. 19

So were soldiers listening to records in the trenches, gas masks in hand? Did some of them dance to the Original Dixie Land Jass Band's "Livery Stable Blues"? Or the Paramount-issued, mildly jazzed up "Hong Kong One-Step"? Did they trade records? Send some home? Possibly. Whatever the case, there was a real hunger for recorded music—dance especially—by the time the soldiers returned from the War. By 1919 there were over 200 disc record companies and over two million records had been sold.²⁰

- 12 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 19.
- 3 Ibid., 20.
- 14 Ibid., 20.
- 15 Lawrence Bergreen, Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life (Broadway Books, 1997), 119.
- 16 Mary Bellis, "History of the Edison Disc Phonograph." Accessed February 16, 2013. http://inventors.about.com/library/inventors/bledisondiscphpgraph2.htm.
- 17 Ibid
- 18 Pete Whelan, written response about Paramount's "Vista" phonograph failure.
- 19 Tim Gracyk, "The History of Portable Talking Machines." Accessed February 15, 2013. http://www.gracyk.com/portable.shtml.
- 20 Dave Lang, "Twentieth Century Recording Industry," The International Recording Industries, edited by Lee Marshall (Routledge, 2013), 33.



Who By Fire: The Rise of Paramount

Out of Edison's Ashes



ne fortuitous accident, among many in the Paramount story, was a massive fire. On December 9, 1914, the Edison Phonograph Works in New York burned to the ground. As a re-

sult, Edison looked for a company he could subcontract with to make phonograph cabinets. A newly-arrived Englishman, Art Satherley, who worked for the Wisconsin Chair Company, was put in charge of managing the production of Edison's "Chippendale" phonograph cabinet for a time until Edison could make other arrangements. Reportedly, as part of the deal, the Wisconsin Chair Company asked that Edison outfit them with the machinery to produce records, and soon thereafter they began operating under the American Phonograph Company name; it would become the first of the chair company's many subsidiary enterprises (including United Phonographs Corp. and its successor entity, New

Who By Fire —

York Recording Laboratories) involving phonographs and records. Like most phonograph companies, they entered the record business primarily to sell the expensive phonograph cabinets, and records were just an ancillary product to support those sales.²¹ In 1916, no company was under any illusions about the disc record as significant cultural vessel—records were as pure a form of ephemera as the Sunday comics. And with a product whose sound quality paled in comparison to the many live entertainment options, it wasn't clear whether the format itself would last the year. So how could you get in this business with as little risk as possible? How could you make records from cheap, repurposed materials, for which you already had other industrial uses? And so Satherley and others at the company—using crushed limestone, pipe clay, silica, lamp black, shellac, and cotton flockcame up with the early "formulas" for Paramount's records, discs that were later infamous for their poor sound quality and durability compared to many other companies' records. Some of this was due to how and where they were recorded. Rival executives ridiculed Paramount's early forays into electrical recording at studio contractor Orlando Marsh's Laboratories in Chicago. And no doubt, the Chicago 'L' train's next-door rumblings would have made conditions less than ideal. But the discs themselves were hardly made to last. But you had to have something to play on these finely polished wonders, whose "shape and size has been carefully constructed to conform to the laws of acoustics," 22 and it didn't really matter to the company, at least initially, what that something was.

First Recordings

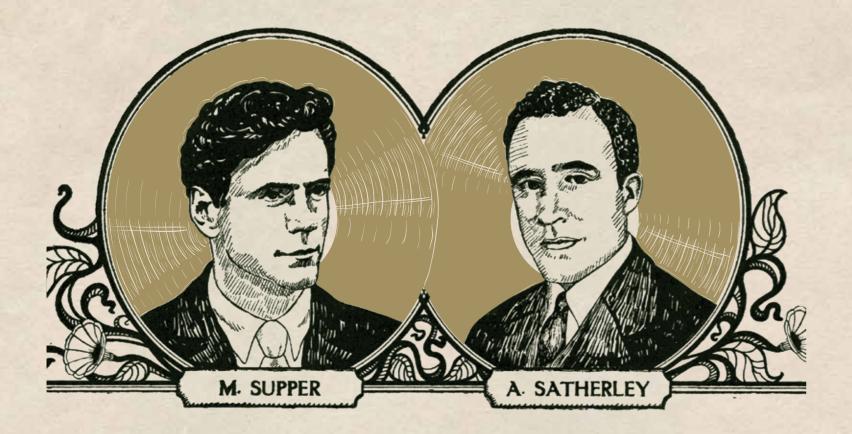
Paramount Records began recording in 1917, a

little over a year after they made the deal with Edison, but its sales were modest, its approach to talent scouting scattershot, tentative. As if they'd just as soon not extend themselves into something so ephemeral, faddish. They were cautious. A few German, Scandinavian, and Mexican "ethnic" music releases, and by 1918, pop crooners, White comedy vaudevillians, and dance bands, as they were coming late to the national dance craze. 23 Paramount couldn't afford the top "name" artists who were under exclusive contracts to other record labels (something that would matter less later, when, seemingly, anything was permitted using artist pseudonyms). But soon, the Black Metropolis would have its say. Likely, Paramount, with its factory in Grafton and its offices up the road in Port Washington, Wisconsin, north of Milwaukee, its management willfully ignorant of Black culture—urban and rural—should've been the last to hear those voices. But by several quirks of fate, they become one of the first to take full advantage.

21 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 21-23.

²² Ibid., Quality assurance note at bottom of Paramount Phonograph ad "All Our Lives We Seek Happiness," 42.

²³ Ibid., 30



Holy Fools of the Record Business



ith the recording industry still in its relative infancy, it might seem that Paramount, or any fresh entrant, would seek to avail itself of established talent to fill its management ranks.

Yet managerial expertise at Paramount was always suspect, often strikingly so. Maurice Supper was Paramount's first general manager but didn't know much about music or the music business. Still, he was a mechanical engineer by training and supervised the building of Paramount's first recording studio in Manhattan at 1140 Broadway, a location and

cachet the company would associate with the Paramount recordings—and those of its sister imprints Puritan, Famous, and Broadway in the "New York Recording Laboratories" family of labels—long after they ceased recording there. Supper, in varying accounts, seems to have been hired because of his ability or willingness to perform all sorts of tasks, including sound engineering, sales, and supervising pressing plant operations briefly in Grafton. He also designed the company's eagle-and-globe trademark, and presumably its eagle-and-cabinet predecessor. ²⁴

Holy Fools — 23

By the end of 1918, another record business novice, Art Satherley, took over as recording director. While Satherley would later become a major figure in country music as Columbia Records' recording director in Nashville, his initial position at Paramount was one he was qualified for, in the eyes of the Paramount executives, because of his authoritative English accent and earlier connections to the Edison Company.²⁵ That these early naïve decisions didn't immediately doom Paramount-especially given the intense competition and the leading companies' substantial resources—is a testament to its curiously charmed life, a combination of opportunism and a remarkable run of beginner's luck.

Prior to the post-World War I recession in 1919-1920, the more successful labels clung to the recordings and bands that would bring a guaranteed return; after the recession hit and profit margins dropped substantially, even these labels began to take more chances. Then in 1920, seemingly out of nowhere, the blues craze hit. Mamie Smith's recording of "Crazy Blues" and "It's Right Here For You" for Okeh Records went on to sell nearly 75,000 copies in the first month and launched the Race Records era. But it would still take another quirk of fate to position Paramount to take advantage of this new phenomenon.

After Mamie Smith's sudden success, the major labels in the recording industry began, by 1921, to send agents to the South to scout for talent and record "in the field." Paramount executives, however, refused to allocate resources for the field recording equipment. Further, due to the biggest distributors' exclusive deals with major labels (and their initial reluctance to deal in Race Records), Paramount was effectively locked out of these distribution networks. Faced with these limitations, Supper

and Satherley had to work harder to establish direct relationships with record store owners, both to set up a retail pipeline for their product and to obtain their help in identifying local talent that Paramount might record. These store owners/scouts would play an essential role in the rise of Paramount during the 1920s by bringing talent to Chicago (and later Grafton) from Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Texas, and the Mississippi Delta. Supper and Satherley shrewdly, in this instance, took the only route left available to them.²⁶

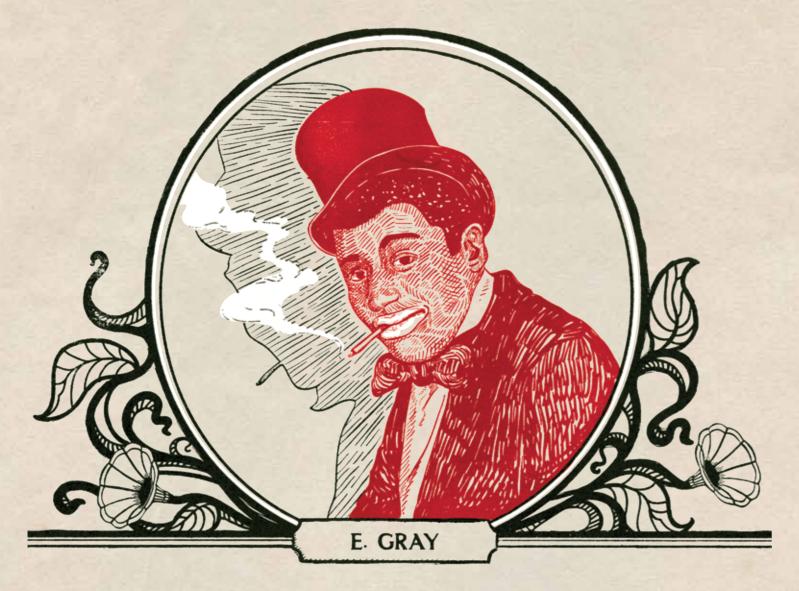
And then in 1923, Supper, realizing that he had no access to the Chicago artists who were driving the Race Records business, saves Paramount from almost certain bankruptcy: he negotiates the purchase of Harry Pace's Black Swan Records and hires Brown University graduate and South Side gin bootlegger, J. Mayo Williams. Like the man who hired him, Williams came to the job with no experience in the record business, but his ability to work his connections to Chicago's South Side clubs and touring vaudeville acts would soon change everything for the label. Later known by the nickname "Ink" for his remarkable capacity for securing contracts with the biggest Black music stars, Williams would turn out to be quite a complex figure, and something short of wholly benevolent to either the label or its artists. 27 By 1923, Paramount, like a holy fool, was poised for a run of success despite (or perhaps because of) its early, naïve fumblings.

24 Ibid., 26.

²⁵ Sarah Filzen, "The Rise and Fall of Paramount Records," Wisconsin Magazine of History (Volume 82, number 2, winter, 1998-1999), 110.

²⁶ Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012).

²⁷ Stephen Calt, "Anatomy of a Race Label Part II," *78 Quarterly* (Number One, Volume 4, 1989), 13-19.



A Brief History of Black Minstrelsy

Yes, to be sure, the alchemist... was trying to transmute base metals into gold but this was always seen as occurring in tandem with, and metaphorical of, transformations he was attempting to enact on his own person. In working on these material elements, he was working on the spiritual elements within himself as well, work that might eventually have stupendous implications for the world at large.... All of these labors transpired within a Neoplatonist view of the universe... which encouraged the belief that 'every existing thing is in some measure, a symbol, or reflection, of something else.'

-Lawrence Weschler, Mr. Wilson's Cabinet of Wonder



n the late 19th or early 20th century, if you were a Black entertainer, with very few exceptions, you toured the South with a Black minstrel troupe to make a living. The profes-

sional Black blackface minstrel tradition—in which Black performers smeared burnt cork and grease on their faces to mimic Blackness—began, by most accounts, shortly after the Civil War. It grew out of the White minstrel blackface tradition, which had flourished, beginning in the mid 1800s, spreading popular songs and Black caricatures of "wildly funny, childlike souls with thick dialects and no sense." Paradoxically, as one-dimensional and insulting as these caricatures were, they seemingly alleviated the fears of many NorthBlack Minstrelsy -

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ern and Eastern Whites, making the "Negro" safe and relatively acceptable, a known quantity. Something that would figure, years later, into vaudeville's wider success. ²⁸

Babo's Blackface

Herman Melville anticipated Black blackface at least a decade before it became a phenomenon. In his 1855 novella "Benito Cereno," which centers on a slave rebellion aboard a slave ship, the slaves and their ingenious leader, Babo, put on a blackface performance though without the cork black and grease to hide the fact that they've taken control of the ship from their White captors. They've killed the captain and draped his corpse over the figurehead of Christopher Columbus that looks out over the prow ("Follow your leader," Babo tells the White crew). When there's a chance they might be discovered, the rebel slaves adopt the subservient roles expected of them, conforming to the stereotypes of the day, while literally sharpening their axes. Captain Delano, who has just come on board from another ship, reflects on what he knows to be true about Negroes:

And above all is the gift of good humor. Not the mere grin or laugh is here meant.... But a certain easy cheerfulness, harmonious in every glance and gesture; as though God had set the whole Negro to some pleasant tune.

Babo smiles and flatters. The Negro women onboard sing their strange, amusing songs. But while shaving his "master" Don Benito with a straight razor, Babo nicks his neck (because of Benito's shaking). And for a moment, the blackface act falls away and Captain Delano, muddled in confusion, swears for a moment that "in the black, he [sees] the headsman,

and in the white, a man on the block." But in the end decides this is "one of those antic conceits, vanishing in a breath." The idea of Black blackface as a means to freedom and truth-telling power wasn't lost on Melville, a writer obsessed with the nature of identity and masks.²⁹

Early Stars of Black Minstrelsy

After the Civil War, the Black minstrel troupes that formed often toured and performed in tents—the centerpieces of the performance were the crude, stock comedy characters caricatures of Blacks—singing songs, performing comedy skits. 1880s blackface comedian and dancer Billy Kersands, whose showstopper was "Mary's Gone With A Coon," was Black minstrelsy's first great star. (Kersands, a multi-talented showman who once gave a command performance for Queen Victoria, is likely the man with three billiard balls in his stretched mouth who appears on the cover of the Rolling Stones' album Exile on Main Street.) The most famous Black blackface minstrel team of the early 1900s, Bert Williams and George Walker, billed themselves as "Two Real Coons," and strutted in blackface to great acclaim.³⁰ Despite the obvious mockery inherent in "coonery," early blackface seems to have functioned as a kind of code to speak truths to Black audiences, implying that Whites' "ideas" of Blackness were a fiction, a mask, something for Blacks to pass through to the covert messages beneath: real truths about Black life, culture, and race.

Blackface Speaks

Blackface minstrelsy would, by the teens and twenties, be incorporated into images and

Black Minstrelsy

Blackface minstrelsy so influenced the astoundingly long-running radio show Amos and Andy (1928-1960!) that it disappeared inside it. Amos and Andy centers on the exploits of two Southern "Negroes" (played in radio blackface by two White men, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correl) who move to Chicago's Black Metropolis for a better life. Over time, the show, while still a crude comic caricature of Black life, appealed more to universal human emotions and values instead of minstrel word play gags. 32 The characters of Amos and Andy resonated behind the radio blackface and, in a sense, to most of America, almost became White.

them, the silver dream accumulated.³¹

Each night before they went on the air as Amos and Andy on Chicago's WMAQ, Gosden and

Correl recorded the show in Orlando Marsh's Laboratories, the same Chicago studio where most of Paramount's Race Records series ("the greatest stars of the Race!") was recorded.

Black Vaudeville

To move forward we have to go back....

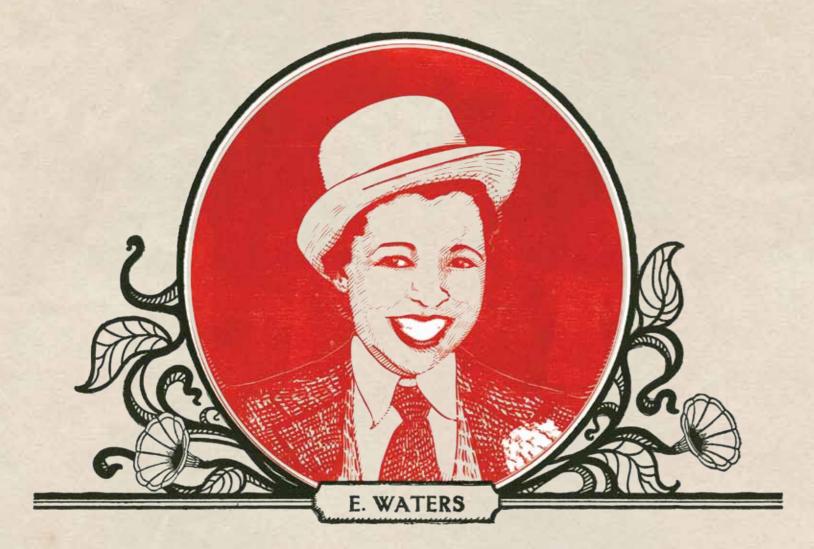
In 1917, vaudeville was the way most entertainers of both races made a living. Vaudeville companies traveled the country, playing under tents in the small towns and in theaters in the cities. Usually these shows featured a variety of entertainments-contortionists, comics, masters of tap and cakewalking, chorus girls, bands and singing. The popularity of "coon" songs from minstrelsy persisted and sentimental love ballads were standard. The Black minstrel Eddie Gray was a mainstay of these kinds of shows. Eddie Gray, who "ran away" from his home in Kentucky at the age of nine and joined the unique "black and white" minstrel show, Primrose and West Minstrels, and was later a featured singer in the early days of Black Swan.³³ Gray later made a living in and out of blackface in supper club shows in New York and in films, like the 1920s Black musical Runnin' Wild (in which the Charleston was introduced) and Blackbirds of 1928. But the Depression seems to have sent him back to where he began-he appears (even now, on YouTube) in two song and dance blackface numbers with the "Three Eddies" from the movie Elstree's Calling in 1930. In the second number, the "Eddies" take off their skin and dance around in their bones. (Which Eddie is he? We'll likely never know. But watch carefully and you can see early versions of the 20th Century's most famous dance moves.)34 And though much about Eddie Gray, like so much of early vaudeville, is lost to history, his 1921

"Ukulele Blues" with the stride piano master James P. Johnson's band and "I Like You (Because You Have Such Loving Ways)" with Henderson's Novelty Band—popular tunes just before blues and jazz really take hold—survive.

So when the classic (or vaudeville) blues came along, with its dramatic narratives of passionate love and lives gone wrong, its impact was cataclysmic and made the vaudeville minstrel songs seem like the musty holdovers from the 19th century that they actually were.

All of the blues women who recorded successfully with Paramount lived some version of the vaudeville experience. Some, like Ethel Waters, did it grudgingly, and moved on as quickly as they could to more sophisticated stages and later radio and film. Others, like Ma Rainey, Alberta Hunter, and Ida Cox (who in the '20s led her own vaudeville troupe, Ida Cox and Her Raisin' Cain Company) thrived in it. Listening to Cox's "Coffin Blues" you can hear the startling intensity vaudeville blues brought to audiences—accompanied only by a reed organ and cornet, Cox sings to her dead lover, running her hands over his face (Daddy oh daddy won't you answer me please?). Alberta Hunter would adapt her vaudeville experiences, evolve as a performer, like Ethel Waters, and go on to movies and tours in Europe and then abruptly leave show business altogether. Ma Rainey, despite her immense talent and originality as a blues singer, would never leave the vaudeville circuit as a performer, though she would have a half-decade in which she burned as brightly as anyone, often backed by the great jazz bands of the era. By the early 1920s, the first wave of classic vaudeville-influenced blues was on the rise and women were leading its ranks. Its rhythms and intense feel would echo in all the music to follow.

- 28 Sandra Lieb, Mother of the Blues: A Study of Ma Rainey (University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 4.
- 29 Interview with 19th Century American literature scholar Joe Shapiro (Southern Illinois University), November 2012.
- 30 Donald Bogle, Heat Wave: the Life and Times of Ethel Waters, (Harper Collins, 2011), 24.
- 31 William Faulkner, "Dry September," Selected Short Stories of Wil liam Faulkner (The Modern Library, 1993), 73-74.
- 32 Elizabeth McCloud, "Amos and Andy—In Person: An Overview of a Radio Landmark." http://www.midcoast.com/~lizmcl/
- 33 Corey Jarrell, "Eddie Gray: Minstrel Man from Covington Kentucky." http://illkeepyouposted.typepad.com/ill_keep_you posted/2011/05/eddie-gray-the-minstrel-man-from-covingtonkentucky.html.
- 34 Ibid.



Rise of the Blues Women

Dilsey made no sound, her face did not quiver as the tears took their sunken and devious courses, walking with her head up, making no effort to dry them away even. 'Whyn't you quit dat, mammy?' Frony said. 'Wid all dese people lookin. We be passin white folks soon.'

'I've seed de first en de last,' Dilsey said. 'Never you mind me.'

'First en last whut?' Frony said.

'Never you mind,' Dilsey said. 'I seed de beginnin, en now I sees de endin.'

-William Faulkner, The Sound and the Fury

Ethel Waters



weet Mama Stringbean. By the time she's recording for Black Swan Records in 1921, recordings that Paramount will acquire and release three years later, Ethel Waters has seen a

lot. Seen a lynched boy's body thrown into the lobby of a theater in Birmingham where she

was playing, played a vaudeville show with the great Black boxer Jack Johnson, and encountered Bessie Smith, the Empress herself, in Atlanta (who, after looking her over, deemed her "Long Goody").³⁵ Bessie likely interested in her but caught off guard by Ethel's assertiveness, trilled Rs, her enunciation of the lyrics. Ethel's smoothness, polish. Blues but with

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smiling distance. Stick to the popular songs, Bessie told Ethel, and they'd get along fine. Still, the crowd called out for blues. So Bessie relented, let her sing "St. Louis Blues." Long Goody, come here, Bessie said at the end of the run. You ain't so bad, both of them sensing the same thing, the change in the air. No term yet for someone who'll appeal to both Black and White audiences, someone whose presence is already, in a sense, familiar but brand new, but Bessie no doubt knew it.

And you know damn well you can't sing worth a fuck, Bessie told her.³⁶

Black Swan Sessions

In 1921, Ethel Waters came to Black Swan's attention and nothing was the same after. Fletcher "Smack" Henderson, then a 23 year-old recording engineer for Black Swan, claimed that he discovered Ethel performing in a Harlem basement and asked her to come by the Black Swan studios to cut some sides, though Harry Pace, the founder of the label, claimed he'd discovered her at a West Side cabaret.³⁷ Success has many fathers, you might think, but Ethel would no doubt claim she discovered herself. She doesn't like others taking credit for what she's earned through talent and hard work. Especially not light-skinned, college-educated (chemistry, of all things) Smack Henderson, who she said liked to look so "prissy and important." She had a mouth on her, too. Would fill the air with curses until you got it right. Ethel—who'd had a difficult family life, moving constantly, passed among family and neighbors, abused, left to her own devices half the time as a child, even hit by a trolley once while roaming Philadelphia alone—no doubt resenting this child-man who'd been brought up to think he could do anything and

deserved it all. *Smack*. Named after the sound of a bat hitting a ball. Wouldn't be so bad if he understood the blues, but he's classically trained, so she will have to teach him everything. Very nearly does in the end. Henderson so young and afraid to disappoint, she has to meet his high-brow, Black middle class parents, who looked down their noses at popular music, before the new band—The Black Swan Troubadours—can go on tour. Has to convince them she won't lead him to sin and vice. Ethel charms them, picks their pockets.

But in 1921, back before the touring band even formed, Ethel cut her first record for the label, "Down Home Blues" and "Oh Daddy," in the "little bitty" Black Swan studio with a session band, Cordy Williams' Jazz Masters, featuring Fletcher Henderson on piano. She's standing in front of a big horn attached to a small window. Everyone feeling awkward, repositioning feet like nervous athletes. No audience to play to and draw emotion from. The band starts up. Ethel sings into the horn. Trills those Rs. In an adjacent room, as Alberta Hunter once described, "a needle cuts into a thick brown wax on a revolving matrix, spinning off a curlicue shaving that a technician brushes off onto the floor...."38 Right away, listening to Ethel's "Down Home Blues," Harry Pace must have heard a new blues sound—partly in its texture and phrasing, partly in its tone. And Ethel, once she starts singing, is cool, slightly detached, confident. Knows what she wants. No weeping or moaning for her. When she punctuates the chorus—Woke up this morning / the day was dawning / And I was feeling so sad and blue / I had nobody to tell my trouble to / I felt so worried / I didn't know what to do—it's clear, in the assertiveness in her voice and the "traveling on" feel that counterpoints the song, that unlike Ma Rainey, Ida Cox, or even Alberta Hunter, she's about movement through these



Ethel Waters,

Blues Women —

feelings, a little wistful about her man, sure, but not dragged down by him.³⁹ There will be other men, no worries.

At the end of "Down Home Blues," she sings that her train's leaving, of being Dixie bound, back the way she came, though, as with many songs of the period, it seems it's a Dixie of the mind that African-Americans longed for, a place with less frenetic motion (and of course Ethel wasn't even from the South). But, paradoxically, it's that same frenetic motion of Northern big city life that allows you to move on and not wallow.⁴⁰ There's a tension there that Ethel taps, a current of modernism flowing through the expanding Black Metropolises of Chicago and New York and beyond. Everyone a little wistful about the old ways, but distrustful of them, too. Her new interpretation of the blues, which was more upbeat and tied to popular song traditions, also seems tied to her very different background—some believed it wasn't blues at all that she was singing, but "a syncopation, influenced by horns and church singing," the clarinetist Garvin Bushell said. "She literally sang with a smile, which made her voice sound wide and broad."41 Her appeal, too, seemed wide and broad—this first record sold 100,000 copies by some estimates, though Harry Pace, ever the impresario, later said it sold 500,000. Black Swan, and a few years later, Paramount, would release "There'll Be Some Changes Made" and the strangely poignant "One Man Nan," in which Ethel sings of Nan's good man Sam, who slips off the levee and drowns. Nan is headed there to pull him out, outrunning her own shadow:

One-Man Nan, a gal from Alabam,

Never loved but Good Man Sam,

Good Man Sam slipped off the levee one day;

He fell into the river, then he faded away;

When One-Man Nan got the news,

She started down the road and sang these weary blues:

I'm going down to the levee

Where the water's heavy,

Gonna find my good man Sam,

I made a vow when I got him,

That I'd never drop him,

When he was in a jam.

Somebody told of Sam's sinkin',

That's my cup,

It's gonna be my place to pick him up.

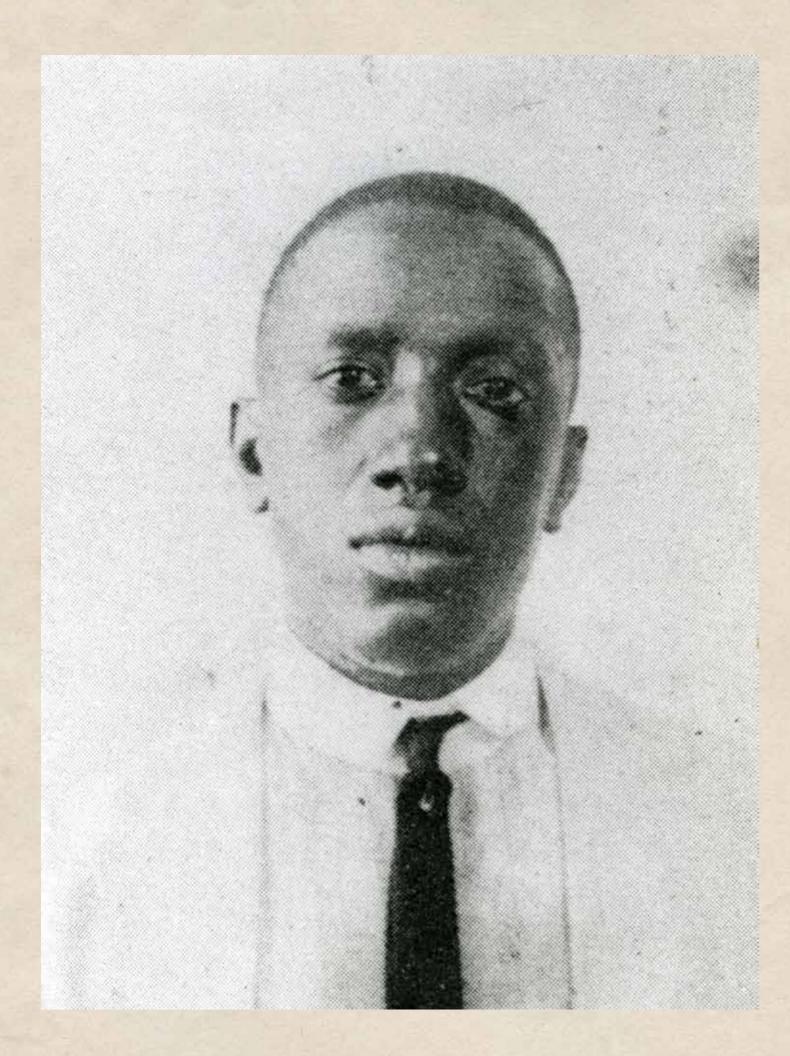
I'm going down to the levee

Where the water's heavy,

Gonna find my good man Sam.

There's a theatricality to the song, a flutter-tonguing trombone near the beginning, then a prelude of sorts to the blues that one-man Nan will sing. The song syncopates as it approaches the chorus, as if dropping down into the heavy water with good man Sam; then its tempo picks up, mimicking Nan's running along the levee, digging up trees by the roots like a cannonball. Ethel's voice is bright as she tells the story, as if amazed at what Nan would do for her good man, or maybe that she had found such a good one in the first place. While Nan's blues is more about what one person owes another who's meant so much.

On the strength of these modern blues performances, Ethel becomes one of the first "cross-over" stars in popular music and lays the



James P. Johnson, 1923. Blues Women — 33

groundwork for her rise in radio, stage, and film, where her abilities to connect emotionally with audiences prove pivotal and distance her, initially, from her many rivals.

Smack Henderson

In 1921, Ethel is in rehearsals with the Black Swan Troubadours in preparation for a tour that will eventually take them to Ethel's hometown of Philadelphia and later to Chicago, where she'll meet Alberta Hunter. Everybody is on edge. Ethel's been berating Smack Henderson, trying to get him to put more blues feeling in his playing. She's bought him piano rolls of the "stride" piano master James P. Johnson to get her point across. "All the hot licks you hear, now as then, originated with musicians like James P. Johnson," she'd say later. "And I mean all of the hot licks that ever came out of Fats Waller and the rest of those hot piano boys."42 She wasn't asking, she was goddamned demanding Henderson shift his style. What he was playing wasn't hot and she had no use for it. If it didn't have that "damnit-to-hell-bass and that chump-chump stuff that real jazz needs," then he couldn't play for her. Ethel is imperious. She knows what she wants. Knows how it has to be.

You can imagine. College-educated, raised in a genteel household, Smack Henderson has never been spoken to like this by anyone. And here's Ethel, uneducated, unmannered, untutored in reading music (while possessing an instinctual ability to pick up melodies), taking him to task, her mouth fouling the air. A girl from the ghetto telling him how it is.

Ethel's talent, though, couldn't be ignored, and he and the other members of the band—though likely complaining all the while—know Ethel understands her own unique

sound and what's missing from it. In a few years, Henderson will lead his own influential jazz band, play the premiere ballrooms in New York—the Cotton Club and the Roseland Ballroom (where he would again be schooled, this time by Louis Armstrong's horn)—and a little later, help begin the rise of the Big Band swing sound. But right now, Henderson, like so many others to follow, will put up with Ethel Waters. And who's to say if Ethel's foulmouthed demands didn't produce a new man?

Allure

Once, in her later years, Ethel showed a friend a publicity photo of herself from the 1920s. A glossy black and white. She was dressed in men's clothes. Pants, jacket and tie, the friend said. Boutonniere, bowler hat. Devastating smile.

"This was when I was a boy," Ethel told her. 43

She liked men but loved women. Had companions on the road, the famous "lady lovers," chorus girls and vaudeville performers shared her bed, looking for a little tenderness. Likely attracted to Ethel's power, too, in a world where women had little of it. Ethel Williams, the dancer, was drawn in. Ethel Waters was alluring. Maybe it was that smiling distance that you hear in the songs?

Ethel also had a thing for boxers. Dated a boxer named Rocky in her younger years, even did some sparring. She and boxing great Jack Johnson were once on the same vaudeville bill after he'd retired. Johnson seemed to take notice, though he had always preferred White women. He sent a note asking Ethel to drop by

his dressing room after the show (in the show, she sang, he milled around meeting people, talking the talk of the great man). Ethel sent a note back to Johnson saying it was the same number of steps from his dressing room to hers as it was from hers to his, so why didn't he visit her? Likely it was his interest in White women that put her off, the insult of it. She could burn slow. Still, later she defended him, causing a stir, saying that maybe Black women should soothe and flatter their husbands a little more like White women did.⁴⁴

She later turned her attentions to boxer Joe Louis. More hero worship than anything else. Accompanying him to this or that club or restaurant, to his workouts with his sparring partners. Who was he to complain? She was a star.⁴⁵

What was it about the boxing? Maybe she empathized with their fear of being knocked from their high perch? Maybe it was the sheer power and spectacle of the ring, the instant political reverberations of a Black boxer's success? And here she was on stage, forced time and again to appear in washer-woman clothes.

Maybe a part of her really was that boy in the bowler.

Joe Louis, in his prime, so much younger than Ethel and plenty naïve, must have wondered at it.

A Flea in Ethel's Collar

On January 14, 1922, the *Chicago Defender* ran an ad promoting a show at the Grand Theatre in Chicago that read: "Black Swan Troubadours featuring Ethel Waters—World's Greatest Singer of Blues. . . ." Harry Pace wanted the world to know what he had on his hands.

Ethel already knew.

Ethel and Alberta Hunter were familiar with each other from their mutual association with Black Swan. Friendly enough, sometimes, depending on Ethel's tempestuous moods. So it's likely that Black Swan, wanting to milk more publicity out of the Chicago Defender about Ethel's appearance in Chicago that January, manufactured a dinner party that captures their incompatible natures. What the Defender would never have reported was that one of the guests was Alberta Hunter's girlfriend Carrie Mae Ward. Alberta was a discreet, quiet person who wasn't open about her interest in women because lesbianism—though an open secret—wasn't generally accepted in show business. Ethel, on the other hand, was much more public in her affections and her lovers' spats.⁴⁶ Something likely went down at that party, somebody said something beyond the pale, some comment that put Alberta on equal footing (she was, after all, the "Sweetheart of the South Side" and had hit records herself while playing at the Dreamland with King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, the best jazz band in the country). Likely Ethel went off, maybe disrespected Carrie Mae Ward, maybe was too openly affectionate with Ethel Williams, by then Ethel's companion of several years. Alberta didn't like a show, didn't like drama in her personal life. Whatever it was, after that night, Alberta Hunter didn't want much to do with Ethel. And Ethel couldn't abide the competition from Alberta. Didn't like sharing a stage with anyone.

Years later, when Alberta did share a stage with Ethel in the Broadway musical *Mamba's Daughter*, Alberta sang the show's last song, "Time Is Drawing Nigh," which seemed to move the audience every time. They'd often come backstage asking for Alberta, not Ethel.

Ethel lashed out at Alberta and other cast members, cursing them in her usual way, for things unseen. The could be generous at times too, even to Hunter, but these times were fleeting, as if she was haunted by how unnatural her trajectory was, aware how quickly she could disappear from her high perch. She would always crowd the stage, squeeze everyone off, making sure her voice was grooved deepest into the wax. Sometimes she would apologize, even to Hunter, for past wrongs. Sinner and saint, seeking forgiveness even while trespassing. (In her last years, she'd act out her own passion play, joining with Reverend Billy Graham and his crusade.)

"Alberta was a flea in Ethel's collar," Eubie Blake said. It makes sense, really, two of the great influential singers of a new age. Ethel likely the more talented of the two, but the least secure. But maybe Ethel's jealousy of Alberta was born out of some sense that Alberta could walk away from performing, singing, walk away from the stage, because performing was only one aspect of Alberta, as Alberta proves when she gives it up in the 1950s to dedicate her life to nursing. For Ethel, it seems the only thing.

Soon after Ethel's visit with Alberta in Chicago in the winter of 1922, she was caught off guard when several members of her Black Swan Troubadours balked at touring the South because of racism. Maybe it was her lack of familiarity with the South or maybe her tunnel vision as a performer, or, more generously, possibly she was seized by the sense of righteousness and mission that ebbed and flowed throughout her life. "She felt it her duty to make sacrifices," the *Chicago Defender* reported, "in order that members of her race might hear her sing in a style of music that is a product of the Southland." ⁵⁰

Ethel would change the musical landscape, open doors for Black actors on stage and screen, leave a lasting influence as a woman and artist—"The mother of us all," Lena Horne would say years later—a legacy that's preserved alive on the Paramount recordings. Like "One Man Nan," Ethel's version of "Brown Baby" seems to stake out new territory—not blues, not jazz, not traditional popular song, but some hybrid that pushes back knowingly against itself. "Hello folks, I'm back again," she says in a bright preening voice, before launching into the mystery of her brown baby, her country brown. Where is she back from? Who is she addressing? It's as if as listeners, we're supposed to identify, not with her yearning, but in the wonder of her telling it.

In Ethel's last major feature film role, as Faulkner's heroine Dilsey in the ill-fated 1959 production of *The Sound and the Fury*, Ethel is a commanding presence. She'd been waiting for a role like this—a way back to center stage with the stars of the day. In the last section of Faulkner's novel, Dilsey is the character who makes emotional sense of the tragedy of the White Compson family, their collapse in the face of modernity. She's the embodiment of the moral center that the family lacks. The role must have appealed to Ethel for personal reasons, too, given her early family life (what there was of it).

On the screen, what strikes you first is Ethel's size. Weighing over 300 pounds, she fills the screen. Overpowers it. It should have been, given the gravity of the role, a triumph for her. *Hello folks, I'm back again*. Supposedly much of Ethel's best work ended up on the cutting room floor. The part that's there is thinly written and somehow even against the spirit of the book⁵¹—Dilsey on the screen barking orders,

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Dilsey snapping the lackadaisical Compson household back to order, slipping into a kind of Hollywood blackface, completely missing Dilsey's song (and by extension, Ethel's own song, at her best) of courage, honor, faith, and love.

Her return must have been bittersweet. She'd seen the first and the last.

Alberta Hunter

Summer. 1922, Chicago. The Dreamland Ballroom. She's a small woman, wears exotic clothes, Turkish harem pants, dangles a long red scarf from her hand when she sings. But her voice is big, has to be, a hall like this. Alberta doesn't hang around after for the socializing. Doesn't drink or smoke reefer. Doesn't tolerate crude language, low down behavior. So you have to be on your toes. On break, when one of the boys in the band lets slip a son-of-a-bitch or motherfucker, he has to stop mid-sentence, say, sorry 'bout that, Alberta, like a little boy. Makes drummer Baby Dodds uneasy, sheepish. It takes a worried woman to trust this worried song, she sings, channeling all the worry in that ballroom but her own. She knows what she wants. Knows her way around, been in Chicago since she ran away from Memphis at twelve, first peeling potatoes, then talking her way into a job singing for pimps, pickpockets and whores at Dago Frank's when she was fourteen. Damn. The girl could sing the wallet out your pants. Married for a short while but it was just a cover to fend off all the bull-dyke talk. Alberta likes ladies but she's private, not like Ethel, Ma or Bessie. Discreet. Broadway blackface star Bert Williams's niece, one of her sweethearts.52

Up on the stage, Alberta strides to the piano, hums a melody for Lil Hardin since no one

knows the song she's carrying in her head. Never could read music, can't name which key, just knows intuitively. MmmmMmmm, da-dah dee-dee dah-dah. Lil picks it right up. King Oliver wah-wahs his way in. Baby Dodds rides it.

She'd recorded her first record for Paramount in New York that July, first of their 12000 Race series, "Don't Pan Me" and "Daddy Blues." Even had a minor hit with "Down Hearted Blues," which she'd written herself and which will, in 1923, become a wonder in Bessie Smith's hands, selling nearly 800,000 copies. Alberta and Lovie Austin working up "Down Hearted Blues" on Lovie's piano one day.⁵³ A song whose royalties she'll later be cheated out of by Paramount's Mayo Williams. Gee but it's hard to love someone, she sings now, when that someone doesn't love you. Only recording for Paramount after Harry Pace and Black Swan ("the only genuine colored label—the others are just passing for colored," their Chicago Defender ad said) fell for Ethel Waters instead of her. Black Swan who'd passed on Bessie Smith early on.⁵⁴ She sees how this goes, how one thing doesn't always lead to another. Catch as catch can.

But the possibilities must have seemed boundless at times.

She was respected, professional. Songwriters knew who to go to. She had first sung and made famous W.C. Handy's "Beale Street Blues" and Eddie Green's "A Good Man is Hard to Find" in 1920. 55 The *Chicago Defender* noticed something others around the country hadn't—even if other singers were getting more attention for singing these hits, it was "Miss Alberta Hunter's continued use of them that brought these songs to the attention of the best vaudeville singers." 56 She was a pioneer with the early popular songbook. Alberta had no fear and instantly showed a flair for interpreting



Alberta Hunter, ca

Play that thing, boy, Alberta shouts from the Dreamland stage. Baby Dodds nods and grins.

Still, in most other ways, Alberta is reticent, cautious in an age that isn't. Lovie Austin, one of the great accompanists of the era and soon to be leader of Paramount's great session band, the Blues Serenaders, has recently bought a Stutz Bearcat and had the seats upholstered in leopard skin to match Lovie's dress. Lovie drives fast—recklessly, according to Alberta, "like someone who owned an oilfield." Alberta herself would never learn to drive—a friend tried to teach her once, but she panicked when she saw the other cars' approaching lights and nearly jumped out.⁵⁷ She takes the train or buses, saves her money. Alberta always frugal, even when raking it in. A miser of sorts. Instead of going out for meals on the road, she keeps a loaf of bread and bologna on the windowsill in her hotel room. Who knows why? Maybe worried she'll have to be on her own again, like she was early on in Chicago. Or maybe it was that, as she says later, she was raised by an old woman, teaching her an old woman's ways.⁵⁸ The other side of things was harsh and she'd seen it up close. She'd remember her fourteen year-old half-sister Josephine's visit to Chicago to see Alberta and their mother Laura. Josephine with a young man who, after an argument started in Alberta's mother's kitchen, drew a pistol and fired a shot at Josephine (it just missed). Josephine, who Alberta never saw again, would die young.⁵⁹

Always cautious, Alberta. Even over sixty years later, in speaking with biographer Frank Taylor, Alberta will gloss over her relationship

with her girlfriend, Carrie Mae Ward, saying there was a man at the railroad company who "kept" Carrie and that's how she fared so well. Carrie who would dress Alberta, the source of her exotic Turkish harem pants. Of course everybody knew about Alberta and Carrie, even about their lovers' spats—when Carrie had enough of Alberta, she'd lock all of Alberta's fashionable clothes away and Alberta would be forced to perform at the Dreamland in a garish red dress she hated.⁶⁰

By 1923 Alberta will be the first Black singer in history to be backed by an all-white band, The Original Memphis Five, on a recording of "Ain't Nobody's Biz-ness If I Do" and "If You Want To Keep Your Daddy Home," for Paramount, which bought half-pages in newspapers promoting Alberta as the "prima donna of blues singers." These recordings and the success of the song she'd already written and performed—"Down Hearted Blues"—attract the attention of Columbia Records' Frank Walker, who tries to lure her away but she tells him she's under contract, no can do. (Frank Walker, who will later be president of MGM Records and sign Hank Williams.) He's a prince, she says of Walker. A fine man. Wishes things were different. But she knows she's at the apex of her singing career now, in demand. So, according to her later accounts of this period, this is when she slyly begins the practice of working with other labels to secure additional fees for recordings issued under the cover of pseudonyms. 61 "Slickology," she called it in her later years. In an interview with Frank Taylor just before she died, at eighty-nine, Alberta said, "I used those other names to stay out of trouble.... I didn't realize they could trace me down just the same.... I wasn't as slick as I am now."62

Now, record labels all over the map practiced

the art of the pseudonymous release, a trick of the trade to get more profits out of the fees for the songs. Pay the artist once, allow other labels to put out the same recording under the name of a different artist, collect on these fees multiple times, and maintain your "exclusive" with the original artist. The more versions, the greater the fees. In fact, Paramount had a cozy relationship with a number of small, mostly regional labels—labels like Claxtonola, Herwin, Blue Bird, Harmograph—and it was not unusual for the same material to appear on both Paramount and one or more of these satellite labels, often pseudonymously. So was Alberta making herself out to be less gullible and more "slick," as she said, than she really was? Was she putting one over on Paramount? Were they putting one over on her? Were they in cahoots? Or was it simply a race to see who could stab whom in the back first?

What we do know is that in February of 1923 Alberta records again with Paramount—songs including Lovie Austin's "Bleeding Hearted Blues" and one of her own, "Chirping the Blues"—but we also find her singing different versions of these songs, among others, issued under another name on the Harmograph label. Alberta's recordings appear under various pseudonyms: Mae/May Alix is the first one, the name of a singer she'd once helped escape the stockyards for singing work at the Dreamland; Helen Roberts; Monette Moore, a young singer whose career Alberta wanted to help along (and who later herself records under the pseudonym of Susie Smith). On Harmograph, Silvertone, but also Paramount "family" labels Famous and Puritan. So many names and labels. Hard to keep it all straight. And maybe affections are, too. Maybe she and Mae are closer than she's let on.63 Everybody wearing everybody else's pseudonym, it's easy to see why.

Paramount takes out an ad in the Defender for "Bleeding Hearted Blues," which, like the song itself, is full of melodrama: desperate longing, blood, lust, recklessness. Blues staples. But in what seems a life-imitates-art moment, after one of Alberta's shows at the Dreamland where Alberta likely sang the song, she enters an after-hours club down on Wabash and encounters the real Mae Alix's boyfriend. You know who I am? He asks and she pretends not to know. Tries to push past him through the swinging door, but he pins her between the door and frame, says some slurred something about Alberta and Mae, his face close enough for her to see he means to hurt her. Mae, Helen, Monette, all parts of the sly shape-shifting world of Alberta Hunter, "the dashing Race Songstress who has startled the world with her sensational blues songs"—but there's fear in there, too. Later, in interviews, she'll claim she conquered Chicago so she had to head to New York and Broadway, which, of course, makes sense,⁶⁴ but there's something about the encounter with Alix's boyfriend that seems to have unsettled her (she packed her bags that night, she says in another interview), as if she'd come face to face with one of her songs, as if suddenly aware that the things you make have consequences in the world.

Later, when Alberta leaves for New York, the real Mae Alix takes her place at the Dreamland.

But at the moment, we're still there and so is

Her Turkish harem pants. That red scarf. It's early August 1922. King Oliver is blowing.

The Dreamland is a black and tan, a mixed race club, a hybrid made famous on the South Side, with its interest in all things forbidden. White men passing notes to Black women,

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seeking trysts. Sometimes the reverse. Dangerous, even here. Grenades, Alberta calls these notes. She's recently gotten a note herself, a request from the star White singer Sophie Tucker, wanting Alberta to visit her at the Palmer House Hotel and give her blues singing lessons. *Oh, Alberta, won't you come*?

Alberta never answers her.

Near the front of the Dreamland stage, Al Jolson sits at one of the large round tables. Crowded round him, friends, hangers on. The cigarette smoke's thick down there, making the harsh lighting soft around him. He's requesting songs on pieces of paper clipped to twenty-dollar bills. Jolson's plotting how he'll use this gesture, or that new Eddie Green song, or Alberta's phrasing. Gathering Blackness to him.⁶⁴

King Oliver has let some of his kid admirers into the Dreamland, allowed them down close. Bix Beiderbecke is one, tapping out the cornet breaks on the table. He's ecstatic. In another world. As if he already knows that Louis, who'll arrive at the end of the summer, is even then on his way.

Alberta's "Come On Home" sends us out.

Oh daddy, oh daddy, don't let that sun go down.

Ma Rainey

She took up the stage as a profession...—
not for a moment losing sight of her life's
ambition—to bring to the North beautiful
melodies of the South—and a better understanding of the sorrow-filled hearts of its
people. After many years of appearing at
theatres in the South, Ma Rainey went to
New York—astounding and bewildering the

Northerners with what they called 'queer music.' She left, and still, they did not understand.

—The Paramount Book of Blues, 1927

Ma Rainey must have gotten a good laugh out of the sense of mission this short biography in Paramount's *Book of Blues* burdened her with. A savior to those poor Northerners. Gone to preach among the heathen. *Her life's ambition*.

Her *queer* music—like Christ's message—they did not understand.

The South's sorrow-filled hearts.

Ma must have roared.

April 1924. Chicago. Grand Theatre. It's late into the show now, and the crowd's a little restless. For the last month, they've been listening to Ma sing "Jealous Hearted Blues" and "See See Rider Blues" on record (the latter with Fletcher Henderson and Louis Armstrong accompanying, no less) as often as they want, but now they have to wait for her. After the cascading and shimmying chorus girls (darker skinned than other girls in the show by order of Ma, who powders herself lighter) leave the stage, the orchestra in the pit strikes up Ma's special theme that Tom Dorsey, her bandleader, just wrote for her. Then the curtain rises to reveal Ma's Wildcats Band, bathed in soft twilight, shimmering in their tuxedos. The band picks up the theme as the orchestra fades. The crowd yells out. Stomps its feet. Goddamn, right, Tom Dorsey thinks. Goddamn right. Behind the band, a huge Victrola appears, bathed in blue light. Its appearance silences the crowd for a moment, as if they're caught up in a dream. A sequined chorus girl brings out a manhole cover-sized record and sets it gently on the



Ma Rainey and Her Wildcats Jazz Band, Grand Theatre, Chicago, 1923. 42 — Blues Women — —

Victrola and it begins to turn. Then, a throaty, low moaning sound comes from inside it, a voice that seems to roll over itself, grind itself up among the gears.⁶⁵

My head goes 'round and 'round, babe, since my daddy left town.

If you're sitting in the first few rows, you might be seized by the thought that the ceiling's lowered, that the air has grown warm and thick. Have an urge to loosen your tie.

A wooden panel opens on the front of the Victrola and a short, heavy woman steps out. Looking around, like she's testing the air for some kind of weather.

I don't know if the river's runnin' up or down

Wiry hair. Dressed in a flowing sea-green dress. Draped in beaded strings hung with gold coins. Gold teeth. Not beautiful but nobody notices because she seems beyond all those categories that bedevil others.

She wears men's shoes, nothing else fits. Instead of hiding them, she's dyed them gold, too. They shimmer in the footlights. A sight. Ma loves both women and men, will even write songs about it. Pain is pain and joy is joy. But they come to you all mixed and that's the way she takes it.⁶⁶

But there's one thing certain is Mama's gonna leave town.

Ma Rainey jokes, too, a side of her that will mostly be lost to time, talks bold about her *pig meat*, her *bird liver*, her young man she can't get enough of, how he can't get enough of his big mama. She brings down the house. Dances the Charleston. Rolls her eyes, cants her big hips, laughs deep down because she's holding the reins now but at the same time knows she isn't.⁶⁷ As if to say, we're all playing the fool.

Things don't last. Burn through 'em while they're here. Ma, thirty-seven years old when she cuts her first record with Paramount in 1923, after performing on the Black vaudeville circuit for more than two decades. She'd once heard a young nobody-remembers-who girl sing something like the blues outside her tent in 1902 and adopted the style. And now, for a blink of an eye, Ma makes it all new again. And you might think, watching her shimmering up there, listening to her mournful joyous belting of "Moonshine Blues" and then her famous encore, "See See Rider Blues," that this is the most surprising thing about her: she sees how funny it all is.

When Paramount ran an ad in the Chicago Defender in 1924, touting that they'd discovered Ma Rainey, "the Mother of the Blues," it must have been a surprise to many of the thousands of people who'd been seeing her in person for years in the South. Ma, a veteran, along with husband, Pa Rainey, of the vaudeville tent circuit, had even supposedly "retired" to Mexico on her earnings from a brilliant career two years before recording her first record for Paramount in 1923.69 Madame Gertrude Rainey, the first blues star, if not the mother of the blues (though this honorary title seems to hew close to the facts). Her style an amalgam of a rough country blues, popular song, folk songinfluenced composed blues, and minstrel show standards.⁷⁰ A performer and a singer. A shouter and moaner who, it was said, could get the audience to moan along with her. Bessie Smith, whose performance style seems greatly influenced by Ma's, supposedly would so concentrate her singing on one member of the audience-men and women-that they'd be called to her. "I'm going to walk me one, tonight," she'd say. In Ma's case it appears

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that she had an effect on the audience as a whole. Whites as well as Blacks liked her music, responded to the sufferings and joys in it. In Northern cities, though, Ma's records were only marketed to African-Americans, not the general public, and were sold only in locations where Paramount knew Black audiences were. And in the North, her appearances, too, were promoted to and attended by Blacks only.⁷¹

What if Ma had had a spokesman as wellplaced as the self-styled interpreter of Black culture, Carl Van Vechten? Someone to expound on her music-an authenticator for White listeners—as he did for Bessie Smith? Would Ma have appealed more broadly in the North? Would she have adapted her style more to Northern tastes, as Bessie did? If so, she might have been even better knownmore easily recognized for what she was, an influential artist, a powerfully free woman at a time when options were limited, and careers short. As it was, her career declined as vaudeville's influence waned, as the talkies and radio became the dominant media in the late 1920s, just as the Depression set in. In the end, she lost most of what she had, including her famous tour bus. Still, Ma recorded at least 98 songs for Paramount that are still with us, and her career was longer, more fruitful, and more lasting in its influence than any classic blues singer of the era. She outsold all the Paramount artists, outside of the phenomenon that was Blind Lemon Jefferson.

Ma was a free woman.

She was arrested twice.

One time, she was carousing with her chorus girls in her Chicago apartment. They were loud. Having a good time. Some neighbor called the police. When they arrived at the front door to break up the party, the police found Ma and her girls sprawled naked in the living room, in intimate embraces. A slapstick moment, everyone scrambling for their clothes, then running out the back door. Ma, clutching someone else's dress, heading down the back stairs when she tripped. Down she went. Arrested for running an indecent party, the complaint said.⁷²

The next morning, Bessie Smith bailed her out of jail. Bessie, who the myths said Ma had kidnapped when Bessie was a teenager to teach her the blues, among other things.

Ma loved to dazzle. Once, on the road in Nashville, Ma had bought a diamond necklace that turned out to be stolen. Later in the tour, the police showed up at her show in Cleveland where, as usual, she shimmied and shook. The diamond necklace glittering against her skin. The officers waited until her last song— "See See Rider Blues," likely—and then came onto the stage to take her back to Nashville. Her vaudeville troupe went on because they had a show in Pittsburgh. Once there, they schemed how to replace Ma in the show. One of the chorus girls was a big gal, Ma's trombone player Al Wynn remembered, and she had a "heavy" singing voice though not like Ma's. And of course they had Ma's trunk of clothes. So they dressed up the big chorus girl in all Ma's finery, did her make-up like Ma's, and placed her in the giant Victrola to open the show. The band started up. Ma's imposter began to sing inside the Victrola. And when its panel opened and she stepped out, Wynn reported, a shout rang out from the upper balcony: "That ain't none o' Ma Rainey! That ain't none o' Ma Rainey!"73

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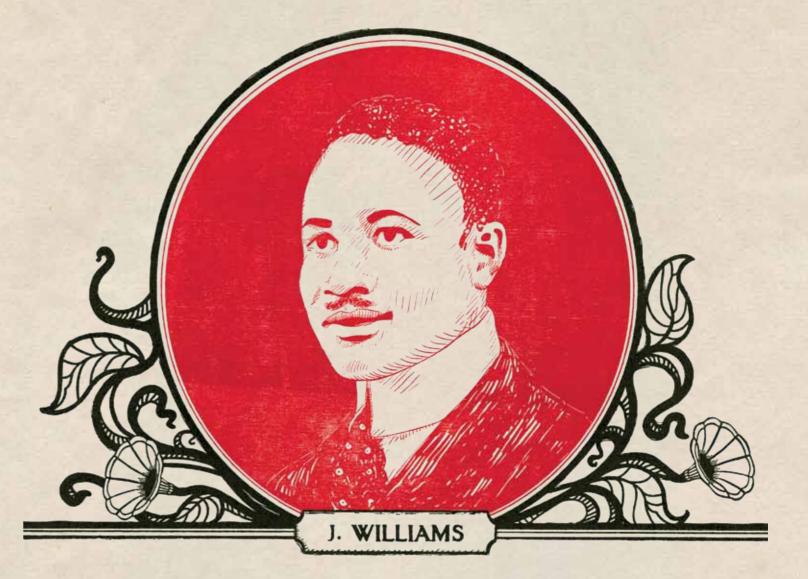
Many years later, Big Bill Broonzy would swear that he'd seen Ma in 1945 in Atlanta, Georgia, performing, which spurred a rumor of "the mystery of the two Ma Raineys," in which one Ma Rainey was still out on the road, and another, a ghost with the more powerful voice, had never been recorded.⁷⁴

Ma, having died in 1939, could not dispute him.

35 Donald Bogle, *Heat Wave: the Life and Times of Ethel Waters* (Harper Collins, 2011), 35-38.

- 36 Ibid., 38.
- 37 Ibid., 65-66.
- 38 Ibid., 67.
- 39 Ibid., 67.
- 40 Ibid., 66-67. 41 Ibid., 75.
- 42 Ibid., 66-67.
- 43 Ibid., Caption of photo of Ethel "dressed in men's clothes" between pages 308-309.
- 44 Ibid., 76-77.
- 45 Ibid., 324-325.
- 46 Ibid., 80-81.
- 47 Frank Taylor and Gerald Cook, *Alberta Hunter: A Celebration in Blues* (McGraw-Hill, 1987), 147.
- 48 Donald Bogle, *Heat Wave: the Life and Times of Ethel Waters* (Harper Collins, 2011), 493-499.
- 49 Stephen Calt, "Anatomy of a Race Label Part II," *78 Quarterly* (Number One, Volume 4, 1989), 3.
- 50 Donald Bogle, *Heat Wave: the Life and Times of Ethel Waters* (Harper Collins, 2011), 81-82.
- 51 Ibid., 502-503.
- 52 Frank Taylor and Gerald Cook, *Alberta Hunter: A Celebration in Blues* (McGraw-Hill, 1987), 37-51.
- 53 Ibid., 54. 54 Ibid., 52-53.
- 55 Ibid., 48.
- 56 Ibid., 48.
- 57 Ibid., 50. 58 Ibid., 34.
- 59 Ibid., 35.
- 60 Ibid., 49-50.
- 61 Ibid., 56-57. Note: Alberta called this tactic *slickology* in her interviews with Taylor. Since Paramount often used pseudonyms for artists, including Alberta, to get more mileage out of its own recordings it's unclear who is yanking whose chain. Paramount researcher Alex van der Tuuk suggests both Alberta and

- Paramount may have done this while she was under exclusive contract to Paramount.
- 62 Ibid., 57. Note: Alberta was careful not to talk directly about her lesbianism with Frank Taylor but many of her same-sex relationships were apparently open secrets at the time.
- 63 Ibid., 57.
- 64 Ibid., 37-38.
- 65 Sandra Lieb, *Mother of the Blues: A Study of Ma Rainey* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 28-30.
- 66 Ibid., 15-16.
- 67 Ibid., 13.
- 68 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 74. Note: researchers generally agree that Ma heard the young girl singing blues outside her tent in 1902.
- 69 Sandra Lieb, Mother of the Blues: A Study of Ma Rainey (University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 23.
- 70 Ibid., 16-17.
- 71 Ibid., 23.
- 72 Ibid., 17.
- 73 Ibid., 31.
- 74 Ibid., 35.



Mayo Williams: Impresario, Confidence Man, Champion of the Race

[My editor] is having a time deciding what kind of novel it is... for me it's just a big fat 'ole Negro lie, meant to be told during cotton picking time over a water bucket of corn [whiskey], with dipper passing back and forth at a good fast clip so that no one, not even the narrator himself, will realize how utterly preposterous the lie actually is.

-Ralph Ellison in letter, after completing Invisible Man

It was thanks partly to his aloofness that Williams would ultimately acquire a reputation for dishonesty.... Although Williams' accomplishments in the blues field were doubtless more considerable than his larcenies, he had no desire to make others aware of them. He never sought favorable publicity for himself.... [Or attempted] to exalt himself as the patron saint of blues singers. 75

—Steve Calt, 78 Quarterly

I just jived my way into that whole situation.

—Mayo Williams

Champion of the Race



o greater stroke of luck could have befallen Paramount than when Black Swan Records folded in 1923 and J. Mayo Williams fell into their lap. He would prove a pivotal figure,

not only for Paramount's fortunes, but also in helping make Chicago a major music recording center on par with New York in the 1920s. And his more subtle talents (he was tactful, circumspect, not abrasive), lack of attention seeking, as well as his chicanery, would prove highly profitable to Paramount.⁷⁶

A complex figure, Williams promoted music that he was unlikely to have interest in because of his Black middle class upbringing. In fact, he seems to have been most interested in high Black culture—opera, ballad singing, serious theater—but he claimed that his mother's interest in the blues had influenced his own opinion of the music. Unlike many socially conscious "upwardly mobile" African-Americans, Williams felt that blues represented an important part of his racial heritage. But for all the championing he did of the music, he would also financially undermine many of the artists who made it.

The first Black executive for a White recording company, Williams would tap first-rate talent in and around Chicago (Papa Charlie Jackson, Ida Cox, Jelly Roll Morton, Ma Rainey, Jimmy O'Bryant, Lovie Austin's Blues Serenaders, Jimmy Blythe, King Oliver) and then use a network of talent scouts in Texas, the Mississippi Delta, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, connections Supper and Satherley help lay the ground-work for, to find and record a whole new generation of talented blues artists (Blind Lemon Jefferson, Blind Blake) who will change American popular music

going forward. He'll employ Black Pullman Porters on Southern bound trains to bring the South's own music (Ma Rainey) back home, in a changed form. He'd also make unprecedented use of the most popular Black-owned newspaper in the world, the *Chicago Defender*, in service of the label and its artists, giving Paramount a reach far beyond the Black Metropolis and New York.⁷⁸

In the beginning, though, like Supper and Satherley, Williams knew next to nothing about the music business when he was offered the recording manager's job, the parameters of which weren't entirely clear. Williams, who majored in football and philosophy (in that order, he said) at Brown, played professionally in the early NFL, and worked as a gin runner for waiters at the South Side clubs like the Grand Terrace, had arrived in Chicago in 1921. He'd gotten a job selling records (collecting, really, on what was due) through a college friend Joe Bibb, who was the son-in-law of Harry Pace, the owner of Black Swan Records.⁷⁹ He knew the town, knew the crowd of musicians and composers through his association with the Original Home of Jazz, a music store and musician and composer hangout of sorts, where he'd met the composer and pianist Tom Dorsey, who he'd later hire as an arranger for Paramount. Sometime during this period, he also met the Monogram Theatre's pianist and arranger, Lovie Austin, who would also prove pivotal to Paramount's fortunes and lead the Paramount house band, the Blues Serenaders. Then, when Black Swan went bankrupt in 1923, Mayo Williams headed to Paramount's offices in Port Washington, Wisconsin to make a cold call on Satherley

and Supper for a job. 80 But first, a stop in Grafton to check out the pressing plant, which he'd heard was run out of an old chair factory. Grafton, originally a mix of German, Scandinavian, and Polish immigrant stock, was not a likely place to find a Black man in 1923. It must have surprised everyone, this confident, well-dressed, educated Black man walking through town, headed to the Port Washington Paramount offices, on a mission he can't even wholly define for himself.81 Williams, arriving mid-afternoon in Grafton by hired car, is let out near the Wisconsin Chair Factory, not far from the Milwaukee River, to walk around. He can hear the river rushing, just off the road. As he walks up Milwaukee Street, he notices three White grade school boys in short pants following him, though pretending to throw rocks off into the trees. One of them has a long stick and taps it in the road ahead of him like a blind man. Williams, dressed in a suit and tie, says hello, flashes his best smile. They stare. He asks the boys if he can help them with something. He's careful what he says, how he says it. He takes off his bowler, wipes his brow with a handkerchief, glances just up the road, where the huge chair factory and pressing plant sit. The offices set off from all this in that other town. Removed. Pier Street. 2nd floor, take a right just off the stairs. He thinks absently about his pitch to Supper and Satherley, how he's better educated than all of them but will need to play this down, let Ollie Powers and Ida Cox and Ma Rainey roll off his tongue like they're just down the street

He smiles again at the boys, nods. Says he has to be getting along. So long now.

and he'll be happy to fetch them.

Can we touch your hair? the boy with the stick asks.

Impresario

Williams's job with Paramount, as he understood it, was twofold: to supervise recording sessions to be held in Chicago; and to register the copyright of the songs they recorded, since they'd set themselves up recently as a publishing company as well. If the published song was recorded, he received a portion of the publisher's share of sales royalties; he wasn't offered a salary at all as recording director but instead an additional percentage of the sales resulting from recording sessions. Williams would, essentially, be the impresario (a producer, promoter, agent, and sometimes song writing collaborator—king of euphemisms)82 but act as an independent contractor, for lack of a better term. (Even later in his life, Williams seemed to have difficulty explaining his exact role to interviewers.) Seemingly, the Paramount executives wanted Williams at arms' length, as if to buffer themselves from what he represented: a people they didn't understand; a music that was strange to their ears; the great velocity of modernism in general. And Williams, for his part, must have realized immediately he'd have more freedom under these circumstances, in any case. Mayo—always the opportunist—was scheming already to record Black opera stars on the label, to lift the aspirations of the Race beyond the blues his mother loved when he was a boy. Music closer to the refined style of his friend Paul Robeson, the future legendary singer and actor who'd later revolutionize theater with his performances as Othello on Broadway and the West End stage, but who at the time was playing football and acting in Off-Broadway productions. Hoping to justify the expense of this venture, Williams put an ad in the Chicago Defender (also appearing in the 1924 Paramount-Black Swan Book of Blues, a replica of which is included in this

volume) asking readers to suggest musical talent he might pursue—"What Does The Public Want?"—but to his great disappointment 90% of the readership suggested blues singers.⁸³ There would be no Black Patti—Sissieretta Jones, the great African-American opera diva—for Paramount. Not one to beat his head against the wall or to actively undermine his position, he dropped the scheme and began to pursue Paramount's Race series in earnest. Black Patti would have to wait.

What Might (Not) Have Been

Reportedly, Walter Klopp, the Grafton record plant supervisor, offered Alfred Schultz, the record plant foreman, the Paramount recording manager job (which included a position as head of the songwriting company) before it was offered to Mayo Williams. But Schultz turned the position down because of his mother's poor health.84 Schultz, a thoughtful, well-liked person at the plant, didn't know anybody in Chicago and knew even less about the music business than the people trying to hire him. Although Schultz was familiar with Race music (and even appeared to enjoy it he had Race Records in his home and played some of them for his daughter) and sometimes evaluated test records, it's hard to imagine how his promotion to recording manager and the head of the songwriting business could have been anything other than a disaster. Unlike Mayo Williams, Schultz would have been an outsider looking in at the Black Metropolis's many vaudeville theaters, cabarets, and street performances along Maxwell Street where Williams discovered Papa Charlie Jackson. He would've been lost among the black and tan ballrooms, like Dreamland or the Lincoln Gardens or Grand Terrace where Williams was running gin. Or the brothels, like Mecca Flats (Mecca Flats Woman sting like a stingaree / Mecca Flats woman take your teeth out of me, later sang Paramount's Priscilla Stewart)⁸⁵ and speakeasies where Williams had his jukeboxes. Where gangsters had long been running numbers games and gradually establishing ownership of clubs and violence erupted and police raids occurred nightly. Would Alfred Schultz have had a prayer?

And yet, chance—that last featured blow—felled Schultz's poor mother and instead of Alfred, we have Mayo. And we have Papa Charlie Jackson, Blind Blake, Lovie Austin, and all the rest.

Sleights of Hand

In 1923, Mayo Williams set up the Paramount offices at 3126 South State Street, along the Stroll. And since he didn't have any real knowledge of music or the music business, he hired Thomas Dorsey as a music arranger, who began writing and then copyrighting songs and teaching them to singers and musicians who Paramount would then record. He'd soon add other arrangers, like Lovie Austin, as well. Arrangers had become essential to the recording industry because many performers couldn't read music-so songs would be transcribed first and an arranger would create a musical "lead sheet," a skeletal framework of the song with chord changes and several verses. This was enough for the accompanists to play from and for the arranger to copyright the song with the Library of Congress to secure for Paramount's publishing company the right to receive royalties from any uses of the song.

The copyright was also often a sleight of hand. It worked like this: only the parties listed as the publisher and writer would get paid for the use of the song—for every record pressed, for

other recordings of the song, for sheet music. In theory, then, artists who wrote their own material would be paid to record, but would also be paid later the writer's share of royalties due for any use of the song. But many of the artists who brought their songs into the recording studio weren't aware of copyright laws at all, and readily surrendered 100% of the rights in their songs to enterprising label owners in exchange for a small, one-time recording fee. And while \$10 a side, up front, might have seemed reasonable to many artists at the time-recording was a relatively new medium, after all; who knew what a side was worth or if you'd ever get paid later?—the legal owner of a "Down Hearted Blues" or a "Crazy Blues" could stand to earn tens of thousands of dollars from sales of the original record, subsequent recordings and sheet music. Copyrighting the song under the name of its publishing company meant that a label like Paramount was making the publisher's share of this money. Failing to credit the rightful writer, or simply failing to remit payments due the credited writer, meant Paramount doubled its money. This was apparently the method by which a hit like "Down Hearted Blues" could fail to generate meaningful income for its writer Alberta Hunter. Many music publishing companies and record labels took full advantage of artists' ignorance about copyright laws, and Paramount and Mayo Williams weren't exceptions. 86

The conditions themselves, Williams pointed out, were standard. One of Paramount's main competitors, Gennett Records, never paid anything up front to its artists, promising them a percentage of the song's royalties, which he said they likely never received. The most common way a dishonest record executive cheated an artist and benefited himself directly was by putting his name on the recording as the

composer of the song, thus ensuring royalties would be paid to him directly (and he'd retain the right to sell his share of the song at a later date). Williams readily admitted to the practice of copyrighting some songs with himself as writer, often without artists' knowledge, and profiting from them—something that he saw as standard in the industry. "I've got a good bit of Shylock in me," he said, years later.

If he'd wanted to completely undermine Paramount artists to his own personal benefit, he likely could have. As writer Steve Calt pointed out in his and Gayle Dean Wardlow's ground-breaking series on Paramount Records for 78 Quarterly, "Of the 700-odd recordings that Williams produced for Paramount, only 14 bore his name as composer. In eleven instances he's listed as co-composer. In no instances did he appropriate credit for a hit record."

Plenty of record executives during the '20s took composition credit on a regular basis. But Williams's conflicts of interest really muddy the waters in gauging his restraint. Williams would've had to be careful: in taking credit for compositions at Paramount, he would've cut into the profits of Paramount's publishing arm, and bit the hand that was feeding him. If Paramount itself was cheating the artists, Williams had to be careful about cheating Paramount.

Williams also had seen the other side, artists who didn't fulfill their contracts, or literally were contracted to other labels while asking for advance payment for a recording session. "Screw the artist before he screws you," Williams said, was virtually the operating maxim of the record industry.

In 1924, Ethel Waters, a wily operator herself, once demanded Williams buy her a brand new \$700 "Locomobile" for her boyfriend in ad-

vance of recording four sides for Paramount. Later, after the recordings were made, Williams and Paramount were sued by Columbia Records, whom Ethel had signed an exclusive contract with before the Paramount sessions.⁸⁸ "I was better than 50 percent honest," Williams said years later, "and in this business, that's pretty good."⁸⁹

Auditioning the Race

Williams was by his own admission aloof, and kept his distance from many of the blues artists he recorded. He found early on they'd hit him up for money or favors, especially in the more disreputable areas on the South Side. They'd seek to take advantage of him in ways they wouldn't a White executive, he thought. According to Williams, female performers offered him sexual favors for recording opportunities but he turned them down. "Some of them had more overtures than they had talent," he said. One performer even tried to blackmail Williams and his wife, claiming she was pregnant by him.90 So he learned to put up barriers and tended not to show excitement about artists and their work, even if greatly impressed. He stopped going to house parties and seedier establishments. Besides, he had all those fine ballrooms and clubs to sample talent from, like the Dreamland, so why go anywhere else? People would come to him because of his reputation—and in 1923 he was also one of the few Race Records impresarios in town. Some singers would drop in on him for impromptu auditions—"We never sent anyone away," he said, "but a lot of 'em could talk better blues than sing them." He was picky about who he worked with, quick to judge. He favored darker skinned singers because of his theory that they sold better than the "highyellow" ones. He refused, at least early on, to work with any artist who appeared to be illiterate. He harped on their grammar, saying later "you didn't have a chance with me, if you split a verb, even if you were one hell of a singer." Is it any surprise he married a schoolteacher?

He wasn't much for appearances or fancy acts, which he felt were used to cover up limited talent, as was the case, as he saw it, with Alberta Hunter's future replacement at the Dreamland, Mae Alix. Mae, he said, simply couldn't sing, and her elaborate, acrobatic dancing could not make him forget this fundamental truth.

Finding Papa Charlie

Despite his early inexperience scouting talent, Williams seems to have educated himself quickly and even developed an openness to unusual performers and songs that didn't fit the blues styles that propelled Mamie Smith's and Bessie Smith's respective sounds—or even Ma Rainey's earthier sound, which would soon also prove wildly successful. Williams was strolling through Chicago's famous Maxwell Street Market when he heard Papa Charlie Jackson singing on a street corner. 92 An accomplished banjo player, Papa Charlie was the sort of blues singer Williams felt he'd been looking for, one that drew from the multiple "entertainments" of vaudeville and minstrelsy. Papa Charlie wasn't a "coon" song singer (though he likely knew many of these as well), a style Williams refused to record because it demeaned the Race. Jackson played upbeat, comedic, danceable songs, sometimes focused on one of his favorite subjects, Papa Charlie himself.93 Jackson seemed to Williams a oneman band, essentially someone who could accompany himself, which was a new concept in the recording industry. He had a different kind of call and response, too—he could take multiple voices in a song and both promote and parody himself:

And he's wonderful he's just as wonderful as he can be

Say the reason I know the Paramount people was tellin' me

Papa Charlie seems to get less attention than other blues musicians of the day, possibly because his style is somewhat unclassifiable, borrowing from all styles. The banjo isn't traditionally considered a blues instrument and his up-tempo style and frivolous subject matter don't appeal to blues purists. But Papa Charlie would become the first solo Black male performer for Paramount and one of the first solo male blues performers ever recorded on the loping "Papa's Lawdy Lawdy Blues" (I ain't crazy bout no yellow ain't no fool for no brown / But you can't tell the difference when the sun go down) and "Airy Man Blues." Papa Charlie was also the first self-accompanied blues singer ever to record his own material—drawing from his deep well of vaudeville and busking songs. He'd have hits for Paramount with "Shake That Thing" (I'm getting sick and tired of telling you to...) and his most famous song, "Salty Dog Blues." But, his performance on "Coffee Pot Blues" seems even more interesting and complex: a murder ballad (parricide) made infectious and strange by Papa Charlie's off-hand delivery and up-tempo accompaniment on the banjo:

You can always tell when your good gal don't want to be seen

Because your meals ain't ready, the house is never clean

Just like hunting for a needle buried in a bed of sand

That is to find a woman haven't got no man

Three barrels of the whiskey, mama four barrels of gin

She said the headknocker's home, daddy, and you can't come in

It was early one morning just at the close of four

When Charlie Smith knocked on Evelyn's door

She jumped up sweet babe, tipped on across the floor

Hollering long tall daddy, don't you knock no more

It was in the loving kitchen, where they made the plot

For to poison her father and her mother in the coffee pot

Then they carried the remains throwed it out in the vard

Killed fifteen chickens and wounded that prattlin' dog

Policeman said to Freddie what do you know 'bout this

Says I guess you'll have to go arrest poor Charlie Smith

Then they carried poor Charlie put him behind the bars

Give him thirty-nine days mama and that ain't all

Poor Evelyn's in jail with her back turned to the wall



Dodds, ca. 1923. Race Champion —

Hollering cruel kind daddy you know you the cause it all

I'm going to sing this time, ain't going to sing no more

Because my throat's got dry, swear my tongue's too sore

Listening to the song, you can sense what Mayo Williams likely did: Papa Charlie's a musical medium who can channel voices and accompany himself while doing it. He's prefiguring Charley Patton and Walter Hawkins by playing all the parts here—he's the narrator, Evelyn and the long tall Daddy mixing up the stuff in the pot, listening to those "prattlin' dogs"; he's the cop, and the cop's partner Freddie. By the end, Papa Charlie's worn himself out; his tongue's too sore from the telling (or maybe from channeling all of Evelyn's hollering).

By the mid 1920s, Papa Charlie (and Ma Rainey as well) would bring vaudeville style performance back to greater prominence just before it faded out. Papa Charlie's style would also evolve into a popular genre: "hokum," funny, sexually suggestive novelty numbers that would continue to counterpoint the more traditional blues that saturated the market in the mid 1920s. Mayo Williams likely had his hands full coming up with euphemisms.

Taking the Freight Elevator Up

Despite Mayo Williams's extraordinary dexterity as a recording manager, intuitive grasp of good blues, and the unprecedented success Paramount enjoyed in 1923 and beyond, the Paramount executives kept Williams at a distance. Moeser, Supper, and Satherley

likely did not grasp what they had or how to treat someone like Williams. In keeping with what would have been standard practice for a White-run company of the day, they didn't consult him on business matters beyond Race Records recording talent and marketing—in fact, Williams was kept in the dark to such an extent that he assumed for several years that Paramount had other branches of the company producing and marketing White talent. At one point, in 1923, Moeser effectively dissolved Paramount as a company to avoid paying income taxes—the company simply claimed no income (even though they'd had their largest profit that year, thanks to Williams) and stopped filing revenue statements. It's not necessarily surprising that Williams didn't know much about the company's operations; he was essentially a contractor. He wasn't "on salary" at Paramount at all, since he held no official position on the books and received his compensation through percentages of record sales and song license fees.

Moeser once contacted Williams about some urgent business matter and asked Williams to meet him in Chicago's Loop, in Moeser's room at the luxurious Palmer House Hotel. If Williams ever harbored any notions that his value to Paramount accorded him special station, he was disabused of them: Old Man Moeser issued instructions that he was to take the freight elevator up.⁹⁴

Mayo Williams—impresario, confidence man, and champion of the Race—would make several more hits with Ida Cox and Alberta Hunter, establish Ma Rainey as the biggest blues star in the country behind Bessie Smith, and find and record Big Bill Broonzy and Blind Blake in Chicago. Manage and produce Blind Lemon Jefferson (and buy him his \$725 Ford).

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He'd also produce records with jazz greats Freddie Keppard and King Oliver, and he'd help put together—in hiring Lovie Austin, Tom Dorsey, Tiny Parham—one of the great jazz session bands of all time, the Blues Serenaders (whose ranks, at one time or another, included clarinetists Jimmy O'Bryant and Johnny Dodds, cornetists Tommy Ladnier and Bob Shoffner, and pianist Jimmy Blythe), who contributed to hundreds of Paramount sides. In his last year with Paramount, Williams also ran his own still-mysterious short-lived label, Black Patti (he never did give up on Black opera), while miraculously maintaining his job as a recording manager at Paramount. He employed many of the same performer pseudonym sleights-of-hand between Black Patti and other labels (including Paramount) and somehow kept his conflict of interest concealed from Moeser, Supper, and Satherley, despite recording in the same city.95

He finally resigned from his position at Paramount in 1927 during a meeting with Moeser in Milwaukee—a meeting in which Moeser, ironically, offered to put him on salary. Williams turned him down. By now, he knew all the real money was in the music publishing fees and copyrights. You can't kid a kidder.

Williams soon joined a competing label, Vocalion-Brunswick, with whom he'd already worked out a deal before the meeting with Moeser (what would you expect?), leaving behind a substantial legacy at Paramount: Mayo Williams was instrumental in turning Chicago into a major recording center to rival New York and recorded some of the greatest blues and jazz artists of the first half of the 20th century.⁹⁶

- 75 Stephen Calt, "Anatomy of a Race Label Part II," 78 Quarterly (Number One, Volume 4, 1989), 19.
- 76 Ibid., 13-14.
- 77 Ibid., 13.
- 78 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 64-67.
- 79 Stephen Calt, "Anatomy of a Race Label Part II," 78 Quarterly (Number One, Volume 4,1989), 13.
- 80 Ibid., 13.
- 81 Ibid., 13-14.
- 82 Ibid., 18.
- 83 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 91.
- 84 Ibid., 66.
- 85 Stephen Calt, "Anatomy of a Race Label Part II," 78 Quarterly (Number One, Volume 4, 1989), 19.
- 86 Ibid., 18-19.
- 87 Ibid., 18-19.
- 88 Ibid., 19.
- 89 Ibid., 19.
- 90 Ibid., 18.
- 91 Ibid., 20.
- 92 Ibid., 24.
- 93 Ibid., 24.
- 94 Ibid., 28.
- 95 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 129-133.
- 96 Ibid., 131-133.



How to Make a Race Record

We don't understand it, what kind of people are they, where are they coming from?

—Art Satherley, quoting record distributors

And now, each night I count the stars.

And each night I get the same number.

And when they will not come to be counted,
I count the holes they leave.

-Amiri Baraka, "Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note"

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'Our Race Pride': Early Attempts at Race Records



ince the *Chicago Defender's* founding in 1905 by Robert S. Abbott, it had actively pursued the "elevation of the Race," through various civil rights, economic development, and

racial pride campaigns. And in 1916, the Defender took up the quixotic task of convincing phonograph companies to record Black classical performers for a Black audience. There were a few early successful recording examples in the 1900s-Bert Williams, Carroll Clark, Fisk University Quartet, as well as James Europe's Society Orchestra—but these were targeted at White audiences. Despite the campaign by the Defender, with the few exceptions above, no record companies would take on Black performers unless blackface was a part of the equation, unless it was the "Darktown Comedy" of "coon" songs and choral arrangements with plantation themes (the songs Mayo Williams later would refuse to record). The companies likely threw up their hands, saying economics drove their decisions, not equal time, or social causes. Whites, the companies knew, bought almost all the records and they preferred their entertainments familiar and comforting, like the same joke, delivered in new and inventive ways. In 1918, Paramount, still feeling its way in the dark, issued several of these records—one was Arthur Collins's White minstrel rendition of the "coon" song "I Wasn't Skeered."

In short, the record companies and distributors had no idea there was a Black audience for records because they were willfully blind to Black culture and Black communities' economic potential. In 1919, Art Satherley tried to

interest Paramount in recording blues, but the record distributors refused to distribute them.⁹⁷

What kind of people are they?

Prompted by Satherley, a few of these distributors might have glanced at the Black porters, doormen, and waiters they hardly ever noticed in their midst and wondered at their interests, their inscrutable inner lives.

And then the moment passed.

The Rise of Mamie Smith and Flo Bert's Accidental Blackness

It took the monumental efforts of veteran Black vaudevillian Perry Bradford, a singer, dancer, composer, and bandleader, for the voice of Mamie Smith to be heard. Bradford, who would later record for Paramount leading his own hot outfit the Jazz Phools, had toured with tent shows all over the country as part of the "Bradford & Jeanette" song and dance act beginning in 1909, and was a cultural sponge. In 1920 he finally convinced Okeh Records to be the first label to release recordings of indigenous Black music. The first Black female soloist ever recorded (February, 1920), Mamie Smith would later in the year have the first blues hit, with the Bradford-penned "Crazy Blues" on Okeh, which began it all. Paramount now, like everyone else in the record business, was scrambling. Early on in 1921, they did record their first blues record, with Flo Bert, who sang "Don't Take Away Those Blues" among some other sides. On first listen, you can imagine Satherley and Supper thinking they might be on to something—the jazzy accompaniment, the snappy delivery, the girl with the low contralto voice, something like the blues anyway, similar enough in style that nobody would be the



Perry Bradford and Jeanette Taylor as "Bradford & Jeanette," ca. 1911.

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wiser. Later, a researcher thought he'd discovered that Flo Bert was a pseudonym for Florence Cole-Talbert, the great Black opera star (you can imagine Mayo Williams's excitement), which then proved not to be the case. Flo herself was, in fact, a great White vaudeville star at the time, a comedienne, popular singer and noted whistler. She, of course, was marketed to White audiences because Paramount wasn't ready to test those other waters yet. But she gets it all started. Flo turns out to be a sort of talented placeholder for the "true" African-American blues performers nobody thought they'd ever hear on record but whose voices were getting closer all the time.⁹⁸

Paramount's first group of records by Black artists appear in the spring of 1921 in their 20000 "Popular Series" when they purchase the rights to four of Lucille Hegamin's songs from Arto Records. And then in comes Alberta, from the Dreamland, who is not only the first Black blues singer to record for Paramount's 12000 "Race" Series, but also produces Paramount's first hit in "Down Hearted Blues," the one whose royalties she'll later be cheated out of. 99

In Paramount's first ad for Alberta's "Don't Pan Me " and "Daddy Blues" in the *Chicago Defender*, we are told Alberta signed a contract to "render her best songs exclusively for Paramount."

Alberta likely already thinking about moving her mother up to Chicago soon. Sees laid out before her the fine expensive clothes that Carrie picks out for her shows. From time to time Alberta wonders what's become of the pimps and whores and pickpockets she knew at Dago Frank's, the young girls she met when she first came to Chicago at twelve and peeled potatoes. She tries to imagine all the other record labels she might be *exclusive* with if she's just willing to try on a few different hats.

The Diminished Sounds of Marsh Laboratories

Orlando Rivenius Marsh. Owner of Marsh Laboratories, the studio where many of Paramount's records were recorded beginning in 1923. Some called him a recording genius (he did have two recording device patents, one for a microphone suspended inside an acoustical horn). Others weren't so sure. The man made a mess of things sometimes. The production quality on many of the Paramount records is very poor—it wasn't just the shellac recipe. On the acoustical recordings made early on, sometimes the instruments are too soft, sometime it's the singer's voice. Anonymous noises also found their way in, possibly rumblings from the 'L' train, you might think, given that two of his studios were next to its track, and the musicians would often have to pause midsong to let it pass by (similar to the Monogram Theatre on the South Side). Everyone likely thought Marsh's recordings would get better once his studio went electric—which may have happened as early as 1924—but strangely, the electrical recordings only had the diminished sound quality of the better acoustical records from before. Marsh also had difficulty with some form of feedback from the graphite microphones he'd invented—they had to be packed in ice because they'd heat up in warm weather and sizzle and hum on the recordings. It seemed a mystery.¹⁰⁰

Marsh was a true early innovator, recording electrically with his own label, Autograph, before any of the major labels did. But as the electric recording age dawned more broadly in 1926 and it became the standard, Paramount's sound quality immediately fell even further behind the other labels. Mayo Williams, who listened closely to his competition, complained that Marsh simply wasn't keeping

up with technological changes, which would in 1929 lead to Paramount building their own electrical recording studio in Grafton and cutting out Marsh altogether.

Race Record

As the joke went, the only thing electrical in Marsh's recording studio was a light bulb.

Electrically Recorded!

Paramount Records are recorded by the latest new electric method. Greater volume. Amazingly clear tone.

Always the BEST music—first on Paramount.

Doc Roberts And Blind Blake Talk About It

1927. Doc Roberts stands with his fiddle in the little hallway outside Marsh Laboratories. He's playing some licks, trying out a new break he's put in "Shady Grove." Doesn't have it down yet and it's bothering him. Only been in Chicago a few nights. Can't sleep for all the city noise. Never lets up. Train caterwauling by even when they were working up "Drunk Man's Blues" for a test pressing. He sees two Colored boys walking toward him, one dressed as fine as any Colored boy he's ever seen. Sharp red tie, shoes shined up for him downstairs. He's leading the other by the elbow, blind man, strange lilt in his voice, carrying a guitar. Colored of every kind in this town, Doc Roberts thinks. The dressed up Colored boy introduces the blind one as Arthur Blake. The first man nods toward Doc Roberts and the blind man Arthur Blake, says he has some business

to tend to and disappears down the hall. The blind man's eyes dart around aimlessly for a few seconds. What are they looking for? Doc Roberts wonders. When he tells blind Arthur Blake his name, the blind man moves his lips over the name silently right before he says it out loud. He nods as if he thinks it's a good one. Doc Roberts hears the elevated train going by again, rattling the windows. The smell of cigarette smoke is thick in the air. He wonders if the blind man smokes. He'd always heard back in Kentucky the blind didn't because they couldn't see the smoke when they exhaled. But the Colored are different here, he supposes, so probably the blind ones are, too.

He tries out his lick on the fiddle and the blind man, Arthur Blake, plays along, in a nice picking style Doc Roberts hasn't heard before. Then they do a sweet little rag and then another, and in this way Blind Arthur Blake and Doc Roberts pass the time.

Singing into the Horn

Inside the studio, you might get three takes on a song. Sometimes the performers' timing is off. Sometimes it's the equipment. If they like the song but not the way you sing it, they'll buy it on the spot to sell again, money in your pocket. Nobody likely will hear that test pressing again. Maybe your best song isn't in step with what's selling so it never gets pressed. All those voices set down in the revolving matrix. Melted down? Mislabeled? Lost?

It's a year earlier. 1926. Blind Blake is singing into the horn.

First he's standing too close and they move him back. Then too far away. 60 Race Record

He's guessing at distance now but he figures three feet. All the same to him, really. He likes the feel of a crowd, sound of feet sliding over a floor. But this will do. Somebody in some other studio the next day will take his photo. Only one anyone will ever have. Suit coat with a bow tie, guitar over his knee. *Cordially yours, Blind Blake*, he's told it says.

He's playing "West Coast Blues." Country blues. Ragtime in there, too. It's a talking song.

Now we're going the old country route...

First time through, something is off, doesn't take. Guitar sounds like a tinny calliope. Blake's voice is out in the hall somewhere. Who knows what's wrong.

Second take: He's back in the room. Fingers picking an easy loping rhythm. Sounds like someone's accompanying him but it's just him. Just Blind Arthur Blake. He's a caller at a square dance.

Nowww we're going that old country route, he says.

The horn's picking it all up and laying it down.

First thing we do is swing your partner... promenade...

Seesaw to the right

Bring that girl over there with the blue dress on...

and bring her right on back to me...

Now people, if you ever heard something that made you feel good...

You gonna hear something in a few minutes...

but not now

Play that thing boy...

I got something that'll make you feel good Bring that girl right on again

It done got good to me

Good to the last drop, just like Maxwell House Coffee. Yeah.

Whoop that thing...
I'm gonna try to satisfy you if I can
Play that thing boy.

The mysterious Arthur Blake.

And when they will not come to be counted.

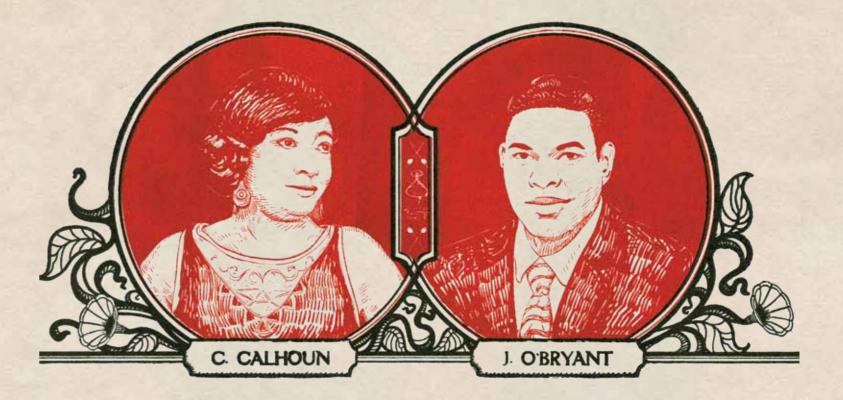
I count the holes they leave.

Not much is known. Only where he was born (Newport Beach, Virginia), lived and played music for much of his life (Jacksonville, Florida) and now, thanks to tenacious efforts by a few researchers, like Alex van der Tuuk, where he ended his days. But we'll get to that later.

Blind Arthur Blake went the old country route.

Best picker there is, said Big Bill Broonzy.

Paramount took his first matrix and dipped it in liquid metal.



Rise of the Jazz Masters

Jelly Roll Morton



orn Ferdinand Joseph LaMothe. Reinvented as Jelly Roll.

It's fitting somehow that on Jelly Roll Morton's first Paramount record in 1923, his first recording ever, his name is

misspelled on the label: "Jelly Roll Marton and His Orchestra." Imagine that you've jeal-ously guarded your treasury of songs, afraid of others stealing your themes, your unique and complex counterpointing, multiple harmonies, all your tricks, only to have your record company make the simplest of clerical errors.

Count no man happy until he dies.

Euripides had it right.

Still, Morton's late struggles give you pause. They seem beyond the pale considering his tremendous impact on music, the promise his innovations held.

When he died at fifty-six, Morton owed \$35 for a rented piano, \$295 for a black Lincoln, and \$48.29 for eleven days of anguish in the Los Angeles County General Hospital. His assets? \$100 worth of clothing and 51 records. He'd already pried the signature diamond out of his tooth and pawned it.¹⁰¹

The first great New Orleans jazz musician to come to Chicago was ill-served by his early biographer, Alan Lomax, in *Mister Jelly Roll*. Even though the book gave him a tremendous

⁹⁷ Ibid., 51-55.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 54-55.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 53-54.

¹⁰⁰ Note: After sixty years, Blind Arthur Blake's death certificate was found in 2011 through patient, international sleuthing by Alex van der Tuuk, Bob Eagle, Rob Ford, Eric LeBlanc and Angela Mack. Gumshoes all.

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platform from which to speak about his work, and acknowledged the uncountable contributions he'd made to his art, it seemed to undercut his achievements by implication. Solidified assumptions that had been made about him already: He was a charlatan, a hater of his race, and a braggart. Morton had long tried to fight off these aspersions. Hadn't he given credit to the great piano players (all Black) who he'd listened to and learned from? Hadn't his birthdate discrepancy been explained? And as Howard Reich and William Gaines's Jelly's Blues makes clear, Lomax's opinions on this were almost all second and third hand. While Lomax was appalled by how easily Lester Melrose of Melrose Publishing dismissed Morton's contribution to aggrandize his own, manipulated Morton's legacy and hid the fact that he stole Morton's royalties ("Old Jelly was a good orchestra man but he couldn't write music... he would have been nothing if it wasn't for Melrose. We made Jelly and we made the rest of them. We made the blues. After all, we are here, and where are they? Nowhere."), Lomax himself apparently reneged on financial promises he'd made to Morton for the research work Morton had done on behalf of the book. Even though other greats were cheated on their royalties, like King Oliver, and died in poverty, their contributions to their art weren't, as in Ferd Morton's case, posthumously distorted so as to rob them of their rightful place in the firmament. Even dying wasn't enough, it seemed. They'd bury your body of work, too.¹⁰²

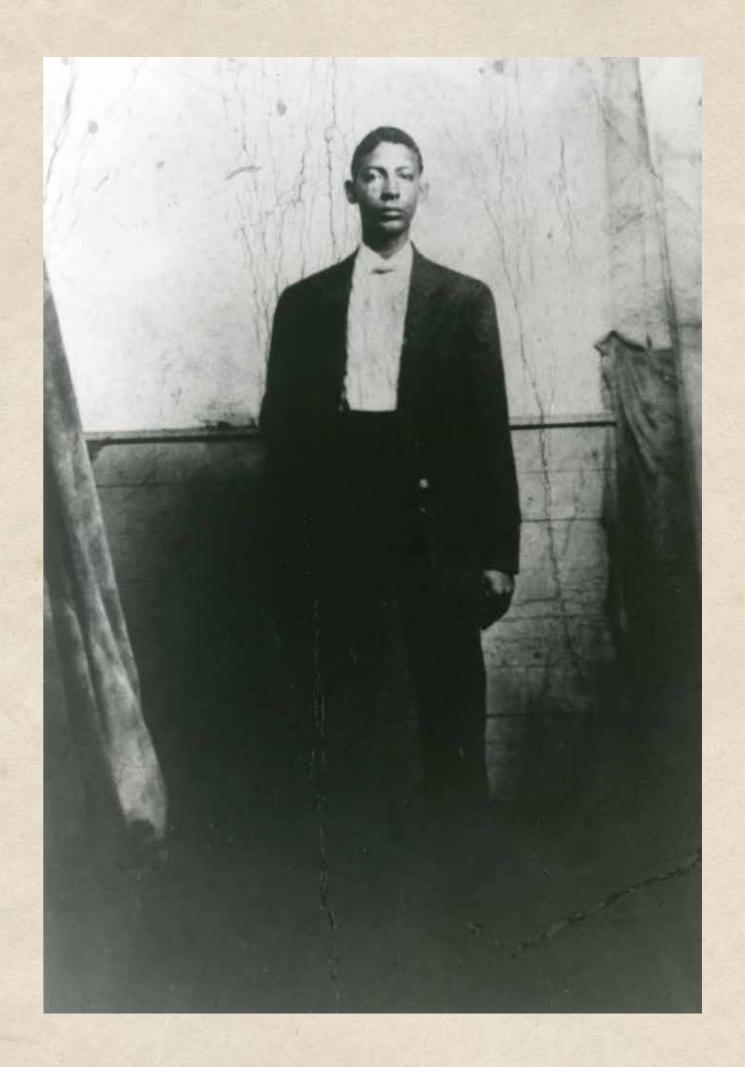
Yet, the story doesn't end there.

Lester Melrose was lying, of course, about bringing Jelly Roll Morton to the world. It was Paramount who'd done that. They were first. With "Big Fat Ham" and "Muddy Water Blues," in 1923. Nothing earth-shattering. More like intimations. He'd soon be the first Black man to record with a White band, the New Orleans Rhythm Kings, a decade before Benny Goodman would play with Lionel Hampton and Teddy Wilson. 103 He'd follow up his first recordings for Paramount with the sly, languid "Mr. Jelly Lord," and his composition "The Wolverines" (recorded by Morton himself as "Wolverine Blues" for Gennett in 1923), which was a hit all over Chicago that year, played regularly by the best bands in town, including King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band at the Dreamland. Tellingly, the royalties for "The Wolverines," like those of so many of Morton's recordings, went to others, including the Melrose brothers. And their names were spelled correctly.

Indifferent Sword of Chance

If a Gulf Coast hurricane like Katrina had rolled through New Orleans before 1992, Ferd Morton would have remained the Jelly Roll we'd been told about. Play some songs enough times and you can't hear them anymore. Morton: important to jazz's beginnings, sure, but essentially a caricature of himself, the stories about him said. Ken Burns, too, had codified Morton's legacy in his *Jazz* documentary as recently as 2001: His main contribution was scoring jazz, helping its complexity become codified. Hardly insignificant. But on the whole, limited, a sort of bully and braggart, a self-invention that didn't know when to stop inventing. 104

But chance, that "indifferent sword," intervened, just as it has in so much of the Paramount story.



Morton, New Orleans, 1906.

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The Soul of the Commonest Object Seems Radiant

What is it that drives people to collect? It goes beyond utility, beyond reason even. Maybe it's the recognition that objects have a secret life of their own? And that by possessing them (or by the objects possessing you), you join in this secret life?

James Joyce, whose *Dubliners* was published in 1914, about the same time that Jelly Roll Morton was emerging as a piano master in Chicago, called this an object's "whatness," the source of epiphanies, when the object and its possessor are joined and a truth is revealed. Maybe a little grand for the dirty work of collecting, obsessively compiling, but then again....

In 1992 a trove of material on Jelly Roll Morton was discovered in a nondescript apartment building in New Orleans's French Quarter, at Royal and St. Peter Street. As Howard Reich and William Gaines explain in Jelly's Blues, up a flight of stairs was a two-bedroom apartment stacked floor to ceiling with Tulane T-shirt Company boxes, A&P grocery sacks, cartons and crates. The materials nearly filled a twenty-five foot by thirty-five foot space. New Orleans memorabilia: posters, personal papers, letters, contracts, old photos, most of it related to Morton's life. A fire waiting to happen, they said, any smoldering cigarette or spark from old wiring would have done the job. William Russell, the man who'd lived there until his death in 1992, was by all accounts eccentric, obsessive—many of the items (some 65,000) had been rescued from trash bins. The collection meticulously documented (each A&P bag was labeled with dates and content) Morton's life and rise in New Orleans at the beginning of the century as the first jazz composer and true alchemist in the transition from ragtime to jazz. And Russell's stash, as Reich and Gaines point out, called out as half-truths all the "pulpy" versions of Morton's life. Looked at through the lens of these documents, it's clear Morton—whose correspondence with record executives, other musicians, lovers was now "verifiably true and honest"—was not the "pathological liar of familiar lore" but a mature, confident—if humbled—artist focused on new works. And William Russell, the eccentric and obsessive who had seen Morton's whatness early on, was the revelator: 105

Only Russell realized that the young man who indeed started out as a New Orleans hustler had reinvented [transmuted?] himself as a serious composer and spent every penny on his music. And only Russell knew of Morton's brilliant last scores, the groundbreaking works the composer penned in the last three years of his life but couldn't get anyone to perform or record... the man who had made the first great leap in jazz, capturing an improvised art on paper, at the end of his life made yet another: In composing his fine radical pieces ['Ganjam' is one, with its unabashedly dissonant chords and exotic Eastern scales.... Morton pointed the way toward an avant-garde music that was still more than a decade in the offing such as Charles Mingus's experiments and Duke Ellington's composition 'Black, Brown, Beige']. 106

But before, there was only the hot music.

Unaccounted for. Unrecorded.

1911. Jelly Roll in Harlem. Playing the Café Wilkins No. 2 at 134th Street and Seventh Avenue. No one knows him here. First time in the City. Still,



Armstrong and Joe "King" Oliver, ca. 1922.

they'd heard stories. Morton walks in the door in his Stetson Derby, light brown Melton overcoat, two lovely women on his arms. Once he gets to the piano, he folds the coat carefully into a square. Sets it on top so everyone can see the expensive plaid lining. You can always tell a sharpie. 107

Two high school boys still in short pants let their pantslegs down, pretend to be older, put on what they think of as men's faces, talk their way in. Bold these two because they'll throw you out of Café Wilkins if you're caught, tell your momma.

Smoke haloes the light fixtures. Pretty women's faces bob here and there at the tables.

Jelly Roll's at the piano now. Launching into "Jelly Roll Blues." The place is on fire. Everything in the room, even the bus boys, working the rhythm. Hardly anyone here has ever heard the blues, swung like this.

The two high school boys, standing not too far from each other, take it all in. One of them is James P. Johnson and the other Willie "The Lion" Smith, future great masters of the stride piano. Here by chance, by lies, by artifice.

They hear the news.

But no one in the room will cut Jelly Roll Morton tonight.

King Oliver

My God, what a memory that man had. I used to play a piano chorus something like 'King Porter' or 'Tom Cat' and Oliver would take the thing and remember every note. You can't find men like that today.

-Jelly Roll Morton

If you'd like to have a legacy as a musical inno-

vator, it helps to have a protégé who becomes the most famous music star and one of the greatest artists America has ever produced.

But before Louis Armstrong, there was Joe Oliver. And that's enough.

In New Orleans, he started out a failed trombone player—blew loud and blew badly, they said—and eventually converted to the cornet. Even then, wasn't much good. Didn't make the cut with the Eagle Band. Later, Joe Oliver's memory will keep that failure vivid, visceral. He'd come off a plantation. Worked as a butler for a well off Jewish family who let Bunk Johnson mentor him on the horn. After these sessions, Bunk stole his sheet music, so rare in those days. Joe Oliver memorizing the stuff before it went out the back door. Memorizing it as if already aware of how much would escape him in his life. His teeth. His money. And then his reputation, at least for a while.

As a teenager in New Orleans, Louis Armstrong delivered coal to Storyville whorehouses. He recounted years later that he loved visiting one particular prostitute who lived next to Pete Lala's Cabaret, where Joe Oliver's band held sway. Too young to get into Pete Lala's, Louis would find excuses to linger in the house, fumble around with the coal, stand near the window listening to Oliver blow. "Panama" and "High Society." All the good ones. 108

"All of a sudden," Louis remembered, "it would dawn on the lady that I was still in her crib very silent as she hustled those tricks and she'd say, 'what's the matter with you, boy? Why you standing there so quiet?' He explained to her that he was listening to *the* King Oliver shout it out.¹⁰⁹

'Well,' she said, "this is no place to daydream.

I've got my work to do."

Joe Oliver let young Louis carry his horn for funeral marches. Taught him how a musician carries himself. Louis, in turn, ate what Joe ate (red beans and rice and ham hocks), dressed as Joe dressed, played as Joe played. The two Joes, you think, staring at a photo of the pair of them, from 1922. Joe sitting uneasily in a chair, his stone-faced apprentice standing beside him. Joe Oliver, Louis's real father in many ways, and the shiftless Willie, the fake one. In 1922, Joe sending Louis the telegram that will change the music forever: an invitation to Lincoln Gardens in Chicago to play with Papa Joe.

Joe Oliver had a bad eye, some childhood mishap or fight, though the stories varied through the years. Fogged over, the eye would wander around in his head, they said, focused on everything and nothing.¹¹⁰

He could be intimidating.

When Joe Oliver left New Orleans in 1918, he left behind a world in which musicians didn't think of themselves as professionals. They all had day jobs and played music mostly at night, in saloons, brothels, and sometimes funeral marches in the day. Oliver's "King" title was honorary, the product, supposedly, of a victory in a cutting contest with Freddie Keppard before Keppard himself left New Orleans. A temporary crown. Somebody would cut you soon enough in New Orleans. And though the bands in New Orleans had leaders, its hot jazz was a collective enterprise, in which the solo was virtually unknown.

But when Oliver arrived in Chicago, he en-

tered a music business that had evolved out of the star system of vaudeville—and he followed this formula himself, making much out of the honorary "King" title and his own unique horn playing, emphasizing his role as a disciplined band leader (a "safe" man who stashed away his earnings and even Louis Armstrong's for awhile), and setting the endurance model for other band members to follow—playing "doubles" or two shows nightly at two different clubs, often until four a.m. A stern bandleader, Oliver, a bowler cocked over his bad eye, which made you uneasy. Kept a pistol on the bandstand sometimes, just in case a musician decided he knew better.¹¹¹

Reflecting their nonprofessional status, most New Orleans musicians were fairly undisciplined, and when they arrived in Chicago, they found themselves in a paradox. Their hot collective improvisations were highly popular but also somewhat inflexible—improvisation was a way of life, a specific art form that discouraged many of the New Orleans' musicians from learning to read music, a significant disadvantage during the rise of popular songs and printed sheet music. Many jazz musicians and singers (Alberta Hunter, Ethel Waters) knew the songs well simply through repetition, which created a kind of "muscle memory" recall of the "melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic patterns,"112 even if the mention of a particular song didn't conjure up these associations. Pianist Lil Hardin's memory of her tryout with the Creole Jazz Band depicts this

When I sat down to play, I asked for the music and they were surprised! They politely told me they didn't have any music and furthermore never used any. I then asked what key would the first number be in. I must have been speaking another language be-

cause [Joe Oliver] said, 'When you hear two knocks, just start playing.'... it all seemed very strange to me... but when I heard those two knocks I hit the piano so loud and hard they all turned around to look at me.¹¹³

Still, memory couldn't always keep up. And the proliferation of new popular songs would put some of the musicians at a disadvantage, one that would hinder them at the end of the '20s when big band swing arrived with its intricate arrangements of popular song. But Joe Oliver adapted, likely because he knew as well as anyone that even the supposedly "pure" New Orleans jazz was an adaptation itself, an artful amalgam of "found" musical languages.

On Christmas Eve, 1923, eight months after their first great recording sessions with Gennett Records which produced "Chimes Blues," Joe Oliver's band recorded three songs with Paramount: "Riverside Blues," "Mabel's Dream," and "Southern Stomps," which would become jazz classics. But given the slipshod recording technique at Paramount's Marsh studios, these particular versions wouldn't become the standard bearers they could have been—soon after, the songs were better recorded by both Columbia and Okeh Records.

In 1938, when Louis Armstrong had become an even bigger star, he was shopping in a fruit and vegetable market in Savannah, Georgia when he asked the stooped Black vendor for a bag of potatoes. When the vendor turned around, Louis saw the face of Papa Joe staring back at him. Joe, nearly toothless from his gum disease, couldn't play. Had lost his chops. Louis gave him money, Louis's band took up a collection. Papa Joe heard them play that night in town. What was he filled with? Anger? Befuddlement? Envy? Pride? Or was it simply wonder? How one thing becomes another? 115

They'd grown apart, of course, Louis going his own way (having his own financial trouble for a while). Greatest Trumpeter in the World, the marquees said of Louis, something Lil Hardin had made up long ago when it was clear to even Joe that Louis had passed him by. Louis getting beyond him, beyond everyone. And when the Depression came, it wiped out the bank Oliver had invested all his money in (he was a "safe" man after all) and the gigs dried up and his teeth went and he couldn't afford dentures. And the Melrose brothers, cheating him out of his share of fees, which might have buffered him in old age, might have made it possible to stay on the road longer. Given him his teeth back. But it wasn't only chance and circumstance he'd run afoul of, he knew that. A man seemingly so visionary early on about hot music and where it might go, didn't go where it went: New York. The Savoy Ballroom wanted him for a lengthy gig but he asked for too much. Then the Cotton Club wanted him but he turned them down and they ended up with Duke Ellington instead. These engagements, of course, would have made him. The window opened and then it closed. 116

Joe Oliver ended up sweeping floors at a pool hall in Savannah, Georgia, virtually penniless. Fifty-two years old. Unrecognized. Unremembered. Louis Armstrong said years later that Joe Oliver died of a "broken heart," Louis likely recognizing his own part in helping to break it.¹¹⁷

But the story wasn't over. Much was left to be said.

An indispensible man, Joe Oliver. One of the founders of Jazz. Made 168 records, 49 songs to his credit. Led his people out of Egypt. Made it all matter.

The man knew how to blow.

Fletcher Henderson

How do you avoid becoming who you are? Henderson a mystery even to himself, it seems. Inscrutable. When asked by a critic what had led to his new style, the nascent swing sound that had made his band increasingly popular beginning in the mid-twenties, he smiled, shook his head, 118 as if to say, who has the time to figure out such mysteries? How was it possible Smack Henderson didn't even know there was a different sound in his band's music, even after Louis Armstrong had joined them? He was difficult to read, passive where other bandleaders were assertive—some confronting upstart musicians (Joe Oliver and his gun on the bandstand) or staring you down when you made a minor mistake (for which Benny Goodman was later famous). No wonder Smack's musicians ran all over him. They were often drunk, sloppy, undisciplined, as Louis Armstrong noticed when he joined them in New York. But Henderson also had an unerring eye for groundbreaking jazz musicians and arrangers who would, beginning in his orchestras, begin to change all of popular and jazz music that came next and put him in the forefront of the swing movement, alongside Duke Ellington.

Passivity and startling change were always Fletcher Henderson's two poles.

His upbringing in an educated Black family held the promise of a completely different life from the one he wound up living. His mother

was a piano teacher who loved the fine arts. His father was a school principal for 60 years. Yet, as far as we know, amazingly, Henderson didn't have the least interest in music before heading off to Atlanta University and then to Columbia University to become a chemist, a profession that—despite our practical associations with it—didn't offer much in the way of job prospects for an African-American at the time. After failing (somewhat predictably, given his temperament and race attitudes at the time) to find a job as a chemist, Henderson became first a music demonstrator at a music store owned by Harry Pace and W.C. Handy and then an arranger for Harry Pace's Black Swan Records in Harlem, where Ethel Waters made her first recordings.

It was seemingly during Henderson's tour South with Ethel Waters and the Black Swan Troubadours that an alchemical change took place. Maybe it was the combination of Henderson's odd diffidence and Waters's fiery personality that allowed them to ultimately succeed in New Orleans? In any case, despite traveling in fear the whole tour because of racism-they'd lost several members of the band at the beginning who wouldn't endure it their performance at the Lyric Theatre in New Orleans was a huge success and was broadcast on the radio to a wide audience (a rare phenomenon at the time, radio broadcasts, the exponential power of which wouldn't be lost on Henderson or Waters). Henderson's other discovery on the tour was the cornet player Louis Armstrong, who had yet to leave New Orleans for Chicago to join Joe Oliver. If Henderson heard the future, he didn't let on, only saying that he'd heard a fine cornet player that could replace the one they'd lost in Chicago. He'd offered Louis a job touring with them on the spot, but Louis' own passivity and lack of confidence at the time likely prohibited him



Henderson, ca. 1924. Jazz Masters —

from leaping at it.119 Instead, Armstrong said he'd go if he could take his friend the drummer Zutty Singleton with him, but Henderson said no. What might have happened, you wonder, if Louis had the confidence to go it alone with Black Swan Troubadours then? Would Henderson have known what he had? Would he have discouraged Louis's development? Or would Armstrong's power and musical ideas have accelerated everything? Driven Henderson and other musicians to develop their own musical ideas sooner, to incorporate improvisation more readily into their works? Moved Henderson's band beyond the ragtime-infused dance music they were playing? Or, on the other hand, maybe Armstrong's absence was like so many aspects of the Paramount story: in tugging at a single thread (plucking Louis from Chicago and Joe Oliver too soon, for instance), maybe we unravel the whole development of jazz?

On the 1924 issue of Fletcher Henderson and his Orchestra's "Everybody Loves My Baby" you can hear Louis Armstrong's clear bright tone trying to break free of the ragtime (which he'd already done, of course, in Chicago) but he's still mostly subdued, conforming to the constraints of Henderson's still evolving large band. But soon enough, Smack Henderson catches on. And maybe because he was slower to absorb the wild polyphonies and solo breaks of early jazz, he's able to assimilate them better for a large-scale dance band, creating arrangements that are soon to greatly influence Benny Goodman, Duke Ellington, and all the rest. "Prissy" Smack Henderson, whom Ethel Waters had so little patience with early on because he didn't understand the blues, becomes one of the first bandleaders to point the way to swing.

In any case, in the middle of this largely successful and pivotal tour to New Orleans, Henderson's odd inability to assert any control over his musicians continued to plague him: clarinetist Garvin Bushell and trombone player Gus Aiken were arrested drunk outside of a brothel and Henderson had to spend considerable time negotiating their release; in another instance, Bushell was so well-liked by a madam that she kidnapped him one night and held him hostage.¹²⁰ It's hard to believe that out of the lax outfit Henderson would later form in New York, notorious for its sloppy play and "erratic behavior," will rise the first great jazz tenor saxophonist, Coleman Hawkins (who started in the band on bass saxophone playing tuba parts), and one of the great Big Band arrangers in Don Redman, who would go on to lead his own band in 1927.

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The Blues Serenaders

Waiting on the Train

1923. Chicago. Monogram Theatre. 3454 State Street.

Every time Ida Cox or Ethel Waters performs there, the musicians have to pause mid-song at the first rumble of the 'L' train on the tracks, just on the other side of the theater's thin walls. There's the squeal of wheels, a shudder, everything drowned out. Then the train is off again a half-minute or so later and you hear its squeals and groans echoing down the track. Happens so often you've grown used it, your mind racing ahead to catch up to the melody, the way a New Orleans trumpet player might. But then, you are where you are. Soon as the noise fades, you just pick up where you left off, stay with the show.

"Nothing but the lowlife people went to the Monogram [Theatre]," Mayo Williams said years later. Maybe. But more likely it just never lived up to the "Black Patti" image Williams still held suspended in his mind. In truth, it was a ragtag theater, similar to many in the TOBA (Theater Owners Booking Association—the vaudeville theater circuit for African-Americans from the 1910's to the 1930's) orbit where performers were generally exploited and worked in poor conditions. Maybe it was the proximity of the upscale Grand Theatre that made it feel that much worse. Ethel Waters said at the Monogram performers dressed down in the basement, with the "stoker" and "that the ceiling down there was so low that I had to bend over to get my stage clothes on. Ever since I worked at the Monogram any old

kind of dressing room has looked pretty good to me so long as it had a door that could be closed."¹²¹

Yet Paramount Records could have hardly existed without the Monogram.

Lovie Austin and Her Sidemen

Mayo Williams could size people up. And Lovie Austin (born Cora Calhoun in Chattanooga, Tennessee) seems one of his best and most enduring finds. Lovie's no diva (though she does like her flashy clothes and Stutz Bearcat), no star, but she turns out to be a powerful ensemble player in the Paramount story. She'd taken the job as the musical director at the Monogram Theatre in the mid-teens and supported vaudeville acts on their tours—so she'd met and played with just about everyone of consequence in Black show business. She was a nimble, flexible pianist, who, like all great accompanists, knew when to accentuate and when to get out of the way. She also became one of the leading talent scouts for Paramount because of her association with the Monogram. While at the Monogram (and later on Paramount recordings), she led the bands that backed blues singers Ma Rainey, Alberta Hunter, Ida Cox, Leola Wilson (of Coot Grant and Kid Wilson fame), Trixie Smith, Edmonia Henderson and many others. While Lovie was a good accompanist, she didn't bring any musical ideas to the Paramount sessions, according to jazz archivist and 1940s Paramount revivalist, John Steiner. That apparently was sometimes left up to Jimmy Blythe—another piano accompanist for Paramount-who Steiner considered one of the greatest piano players of the 1920s. Tom Dorsey, another of Mayo Williams' "discoveries," worked mainly as an arranger for the label and wasn't an accom-



Lovie Austin, ca. 1923.

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plished piano player—he could mainly just play chords, Steiner said. 122 Steiner marveled at the ability of Austin and Dorsey to work almost entirely from memory and "charting," or noting chords: "Lovie Austin worked from music and memory, just as Dorsey did.... He used to write down notes and remember. Unnatural. The same like Lovie Austin." 123

"Charting"—which might seem like an adaptation to compensate for limited technical ability—often proved expedient for the label's practice of having the song "arranged" and copyrighted quickly, typically without the performer's awareness while in the studio.

During Ma Rainey's two 1923 recording sessions in Chicago, backed by Lovie Austin's session band, the Blues Serenaders, all eight songs were copyrighted, five under Lovie Austin's name, and one, "Last Minute Blues," under Tom Dorsey's. Ma Rainey was credited with only "Moonshine Blues." Many of these songs borrowed from traditional blues stanzas that Ma Rainey had been playing for nearly twenty years, though she claimed to have written some of them herself outright. Her influence was so great on the vaudeville circuit, it's likely many of her own verses could have become standards, borrowed from and slightly altered over the years. In any case, Austin and Dorsey's "arrangements" likely were only slight but enough to get the writer's credit—essentially standard procedure for the recording industry. 124 Ma, never having recorded before, likely didn't know much about copyright. Maybe she didn't even care, initially.

Lovie Austin's Blues Serenaders wasn't a blues band at all, but a jazz band that backed the Paramount artists on recordings. She eventually formed a core group of players that consisted of Jimmy Blythe on piano, Tommy Ladnier on trumpet, and Jimmy O'Bryant on clarinet (labeled the "clarinet wizard" on his own first release). Like most session bands, the Serenaders never performed outside the studio and had an ever-changing lineup, which at some points included the clarinetist Johnny Dodds, cornet player Bob Shoffner, and a little known Chicago policeman named James Lily on drums.¹²⁵

Paramount's charmed streak continued. The Blues Serenaders turned out to be one of the greatest jazz session bands of all time, led (extraordinarily at the time) by a woman who knew her way around a stage and a studio.

Jimmy O'Bryant

In the photo, Jimmy O'Bryant's dressed in a tuxedo, sitting on a whiskey barrel, legs crossed, playing his clarinet. His head is blurred slightly, as if in motion. Eyes downcast to the left or possibly closed. Just beneath his image, he (or someone) has signed his name. Twice. The first signature seems to have faded, so the signer came back with a darker one, as if making sure he'd stay put.

O'Bryant played a hot, slithery clarinet in a style similar to Johnny Dodds, who many consider one of the greatest clarinetists of all time. Dodds, along with his brother, drummer Baby Dodds, would help make some of the most important jazz recordings in history, first with Joe Oliver and later with Armstrong's Hot Fives and Hot Sevens.

That kind of influence is tough to be around, tough to surpass, you'd think. Might even drive you to drink heavily and feud with your bandleader, which O'Bryant did (often referred to as "erratic" behavior in source material), and he must have drunk even harder when Johnny Dodds replaced him for a time. But if



O'Bryant, 1925. 76 — Jazz Masters — —

you listen to Jimmy O'Bryant's own recordings with his Famous Original Washboard Band, you can feel him pushing a little beyond their superficial similarities, beyond Dodds's greater technical chops, into something like his own. In the snaky, dueling clarinet and trumpet of "Hot Hot Hottentot," the crazed tempo of "Skoodlum Blues," the shrill, yearning "My Man Rocks Me," and the languid shag of "Three J Blues," you can feel a free man at work on something that's inseparable from joy. 126

Very little is known about O'Bryant. In the early twenties, he'd played with the Tennessee Ten, and then a band co-led by Jelly Roll Morton and W.C. Handy, and later, in 1924, with King Oliver. He eventually led his own band at Joe's Paradise in 1925, where he played (apparently flamboyantly) with a tassel tied to his clarinet horn. It is during this period in which he made his truly remarkable body of recordings for Paramount, as leader of his own hotand-ragged washboard band. There's really no other body of work quite like it. At the time of his untimely death, in 1928, he was at the height of his popularity in Chicago. Given a little more time, who knows where it might have led? 127

- 112 Ibid., 45.
- 113 Ibid., 46.
- 114 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 73.
- 115 Laurence Bergreen, Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life (Broadway Books, 1997), 388-391.
- 116 Ibid., 388-391.
- 117 Ibid., 390-391.
- 118 Ibid., 242.
- 119 Ibid., 241-243.
- 120 Ibid., 242.
- 121 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 69.
- 122 Ibid., 68-71.
- 123 Ibid., 71.
- 124 Ibid., 76-78.
- 125 Ibid., 70-71.
- 126 Ibid., 70-71. 127 Ibid., 71.

C. JACKSON

G. RAINEY

Dying Lights of Vaudeville: Papa Charlie Jackson and Ma Rainey

Moisha Yudleson: In a saloon, who do you think I saw singing raggy time songs?—your son Jakie! Papa Rabinowitz: I'll teach him better than to debase the voice God gave him! Mother Rabinowitz: But Papa—our boy, he does not think like we do. Papa Rabinowitz: First he will get a whipping! Jakie Rabinowitz: If you whip me again, I'll run away—and never come back! [Sounds of whipping.]

—The Jazz Singer, 1927

Talkies and the Fading of Vaudeville



hen Chicago's Essanay Film Studios premiered its silent short "The Dark Romance of a Tobacco Tin" in 1911 (a comedy short about a White man's "great surprise" at finding the

girl he's about to marry is "a Negro"), the film was most likely a small portion of a vaudeville

show, preceded by dancing, blackface musical and comedy skits, contortionists, and finally music to accompany the film.

If you're in blackface, the thinking might have gone, you're inoffensive, virtually assimilated, almost White. Al Jolson, in the thinly veiled version of his life that is the *Jazz Singer*, must

¹⁰¹ Howard Reich and William Gaines, Jelly's Blues (Da Capo Press, 2003), 233

¹⁰² Ibid., 237-238

¹⁰³ Ibid., 86.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., xi-xiv (preface).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 245-247.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., xiii & 249

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 41.

¹⁰⁸ Laurence Bergreen, Louis Armstrong: An Extravagant Life (Broadway Books, 1997), 47.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 47.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 105-106.

¹¹¹ William Howland Kennedy, *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 45-46.

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have known this intuitively. But in 1927, when the first mass-appeal talking motion picture is released, it accomplishes the seemingly impossible in one gesture: even while romanticizing vaudeville, blackface, early jazz (really ragtime) and the struggle for identity, it simultaneously sweeps the vaudeville performing styles to the side, making them seem as much the product of some ancient culture as the Jewish cantor singing rituals depicted in the movie itself. For many Great Migration African-Americans, vaudeville may have been a reminder that cut both ways: of the more overt Southern racism they'd endured and the familiar culture and comforts of extended family they'd left behind. In a sense, they'd moved on and likely wanted their entertainments to reflect that, though there was still the tug of conflicted sentiment in minstrelsy's images and songs, for both Blacks and Whites, that would keep elements of it alive for some time. But it isn't long before the velocity of hot jazz makes vaudeville (with its stock characters and age-old genres) begin to seem as creaky and backwards-looking as a cakewalk dance.

Though elements of vaudeville hung on in various forms and would reappear on radio and in television variety shows for years, its basic conventions were dying out—the crowds could now listen to performances on their phonographs, watch something like a dream unfold gigantically on screen (the audience as hushed as in a church or temple; in the silent film era, the audience often talked throughout). The beginning of the end for vaudeville is marked by the rise in record sales, the ascension of talkies and radio and is finally bookended by the deepening of the Great Depression and the dramatic 1932 conversion of New York's vaudeville showpiece, the Palace Theatre, to a full-time talking motion picture venue. 128

Last Notes

He told them he was Reverend Yates and he was going to see his sister who was sick and the train had left without him. And they said, 'yeah nigger, but can you dance?' He looked at them and commenced to dancing. One of them reached up and tore the cross off his neck. Said he was committing heresy by dancing with a cross and a Bible. Took his Bible and tore it up and had him dancing until they got tired of watching him.

-August Wilson, Ma Rainey's Black Bottom

The famous Mother of the Blues doesn't want you to ever forget her!

-Paramount Records Ad, Chicago Defender

Trained in vaudeville, Paramount's Papa Charlie Jackson and Ma Rainey could perform any style of music, so in a sense, they were best poised to adapt to the changing tastes. Talkies, radio, and records, though, were edging in. Despite Paramount releasing successful recordings with Ma backed by Fletcher Henderson's Band and Ma performing sold-out shows at Chicago's Grand Theatre in January of 1926 ("where audiences lined up from the box office to the street car track") and going on the road for a successful tour through the Midwest, Baltimore, and New York, there already were fewer TOBA vaudeville venues to play. Paramount, in a move that would usher in a new era and a new style of blues, had recorded a bottleneck guitar player from Texas, Blind Lemon Jefferson, in Chicago in January of 1926—two religious songs under the pseudonym of Deacon L.J. Bates, which may have been a ruse to get around Jefferson's refusal to play secular music on Sundays (a promise



Papa Charlie Jackson, 1925. he'd made to his mother, it was said). In any case, with the fading of the vaudeville style and with the advent of Jefferson's new popular style of blues (he would go on to cut 93 sides with Paramount over a three-year period), Ma Rainey's record sales and drawing power began to wane. Ma's earthy style of blues had influenced a whole generation of singers but many of them—Alberta Hunter, Ethel Waters, Ida Cox, Mamie Smith—had taken her deep moan out of it, added a popular lilt, enunciation, and upbeat tempo over her shouts, moans, and slow grinds. Even Bessie had refined it into a certain urban style. Ma had shone—not beautifully but radiantly—with her Wild Cats. She mesmerized and confounded those who'd seen her shows—so big and bold, so powerfully sexual, and yet so warm, funny, and homely ("Ugliest woman in show business," Alberta Hunter said). But already, in a burgeoning visual age, tastes were changing, looks and youth were becoming more central to appeal. Rumors spread about Ma Rainey: she was really in her mid-fifties or possibly even closer to seventy. Ma, in fact, turned forty years old in April of 1926.

The Chicago Defender and Paramount had promoted Ma for years using an ingenious Southern rail strategy, putting records and Chicago Defender ads in the hands of the ubiquitous Pullman Porters. Now through Paramount's revolutionary mail order service (the first label to use one), Ma could get her records directly in her people's hands all through the South while the Defender continued to keep her fans informed of Ma's doings, her whereabouts in her famous tour bus. In 1924, Mayo Williams even came up with a gimmick contest advertised in the Defender in which Ma's listeners— "Every member of the Race"—had the opportunity to name Ma Rainey's "Mystery Record" and win a Paramount phonograph. The winning entry was a few poached lines from the song itself: "Lawd I'm Down Wid The Blues." (In 1929, Paramount would feature another contest for a mystery artist advertised as the "Masked Marvel — Can you guess who he is?") Soon enough, the ads and gimmicks would fall short and Paramount, always looking for a new sound, will cancel Ma's contract after her last recording session in 1928. But Ma, Paramount's most popular star until the arrival of Blind Lemon Jefferson, stayed on the road, even through the grinding years of the Depression. Near the end of her career, in the early 1930s she performed at side shows in east Texas oilfield cities as the "Black Nightingale," introduced by a kilt-wearing barker, Donald McGregor, the former "Scottish Giant" in the Ringling Brother's Circus. 135 Gone was her opulent gold necklace, her famous tour bus. She toured in a house trailer built by her fellow performers and even canned her own vegetables. Still, even with her lifestyle diminished, she was apparently in fine form. She sang a moving rendition of the folk song "Careless Love" (made famous in a recording by Bessie Smith) and "Traveling Blues," which she acted out and sang so effectively, Ma said, that when she finished, "you could see them Jiggs wantin' to go some place else."130

For her showstopper, the whole production company appeared on stage, singing and dancing portions of "It's Tight Like That," and Ma Rainey sang the final chorus:

See that spider crawling up the wall

He's going up there to get his ashes hauled

Oh it's tight like that

Be De Um Bumm

I say it's tight like that

Then Ma would pull up her skirt and dance.¹³¹

Papa Charlie Jackson is even better poised to survive with his upbeat, jazzy "hokum" and he'll flourish for a bit, but he's really a comedic bluesman, a crowd pleaser, his two biggest hits "Shake That Thing" and "Salty Dog Blues," passed down and rerecorded by countless performers. He's the versatile busker and self-accompanied performer he's always been, talking about it, holding forth. He's not the kind to unnerve listeners with twelve-bar narratives filled with longing and desperation. Sounding otherworldly, "like a hoot owl" in the middle of the night, as H.C. Speir, the Paramount talent scout, will say decades later when asked to explain the attraction of the late 1920s country blues yet to come, how it makes your hair stand on end.

In one of Ma Rainey's last recording sessions for Paramount in 1928, she seems unbowed, irrepressible, though she's likely seen the signs by now. She saves this session to record "Prove It On Me Blues," the song that celebrates, with a mix of humor and desire, her "famous lady lovers," long rumored but never directly addressed until now. She ends the session and her remarkable Paramount recording career by joining Papa Charlie Jackson for two songsstripped down to Papa Charlie's banjo accompaniment—full of humor and poignancy and prescience, as if both know they're about to be in the same boat. "Big Feeling Blues" and "Ma And Pa Poor House Blues" are the last songs we'll hear from her on record:

Papa Charlie: "Ma...What's become of that great big [tour] bus you have?"

Ma: "Somebody stole that bus."

Old Time Music Has Its Say

Vaudeville's gradual winking out and Paramount's success with country blues artists Blind Lemon Jefferson and Blind Blake in 1926 also opened the door to "old time" or "hillbilly" music on Paramount. Like Race Records, "old time" music had largely been ignored by the major record labels. Paramount recorded a number of fiddlers early in 1924—Osey Helton, Dr. D.D. Hollis, and B.E. Scott —and a year later added tracks by Arthur Tanner and his Dixie String Band, but at the time they were only dipping a toe in the water. They began to look at it as a more viable market after Harry Charles, a talent scout in Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, who also worked for one of Paramount's wholesalers, E. E. Forbes Company, heard Fiddlin' John Carson on a popular 1923 Okeh Records release and was amazed: "It was the worst record I heard in my life, and every time you play it, you'd sell it." 132

By 1927, Paramount began to focus seriously on "old time" music for the first time. After all, with the decline of vaudeville blues artists' record sales and the sudden and unlikely success of the "country blues," it all seemed wide open again. So in response, Paramount developed the 3000 "old time" series, which ultimately led to over 330 releases. During the first 3000 series recording sessions by The Hugh Gibbs String Band, talent scout Harry Charles himself sang some of the vocals on "Lord I'm Coming Home," something Charles did often throughout his career—his specialties, he said, were blues and spirituals. ¹³³

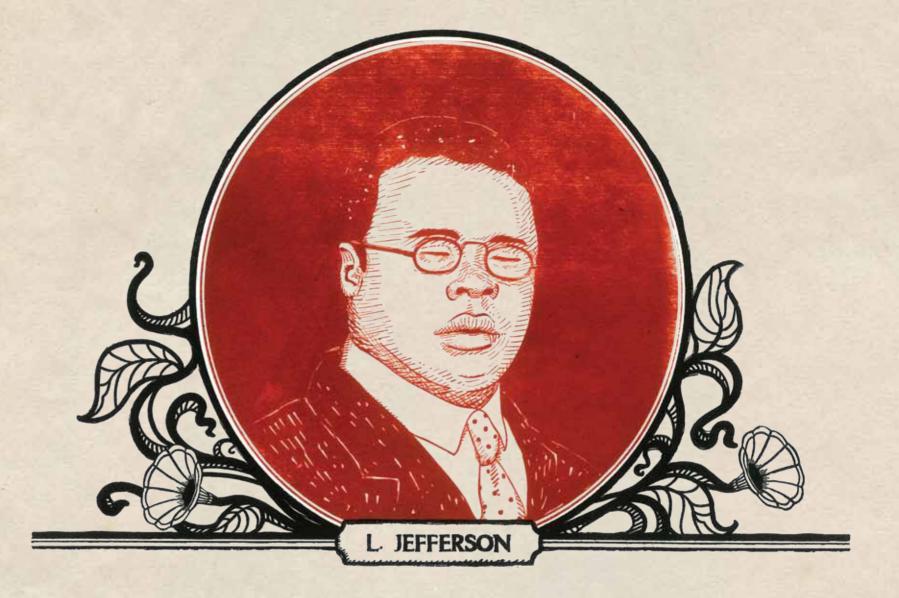
The Kentucky Thorobreds (Fiddlin' Doc Roberts, Ted Chestnut on mandolin, Dick Parman on guitar, ukulele, banjo, and tenor ukulele) recorded twice with Paramount in 1927, including the fine "Shady Grove." The same year,

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Paramount also released records by Watts and Wilson and Harkreader and Moore ("Old Joe Clark" is one standout).

As with the Race artists, the "hillbilly" performers seemed a mystery to the White Paramount executives, such as the sessions' recording director Art Laibly. During the Kentucky Thorobreds' sessions, Laibly was particularly interested in the Kentuckians' supposed penchant for moonshine. At the end of their first session in Chicago, Laibly asked band member Dick Parman if he drank mountain dew and when Parman said no, that he wasn't a drinking man, Laibly asked him to bring him a pint next time and to "tie a string around his finger" so he wouldn't forget. ¹³⁴

128 http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Vaudeville#cite_



Blind Lemon Jefferson

[Deep Ellum is] the only place recorded on earth where business, religion, hoodooism, gambling and stealing goes on at the same time without friction.... Last Saturday a prophet... announced that Jesus Christ would come to Dallas in person in 1939. At the same time a pickpocket was lifting a week's wages from another guy's pocket who stood with open mouth to hear the prophecy.

—Reporter in 1930s, quoted by Darwin Payne in Dallas, An Illustrated History

A study of dreams, phantasies and myths has taught us that anxiety about one's eyes, the fear of going blind, is often enough a substitute for the dread of being castrated.

—Freud, "The Uncanny"

A train left the depot with a red and blue light behind Well the blue light's the blues and red light's the worried mind

—Blind Lemon Jefferson, "Dry Southern Blues"

¹²⁹ Sandra Lieb, *Mother of the Blues: A Study of Ma Rainey* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 46.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 46-47.

¹³¹ Ibid., 47.

¹³² Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 115.

¹³³ Ibid., 116.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 117.

Texas Prophecy



rains, one of the great tropes of folk music and country blues, figure prominently in Blind Lemon Jefferson's life—though peculiarly so. People in the town of Wortham, Texas, near

where Jefferson grew up, remembered Lemon's brother Johnnie, only a year older than Lemon, had been killed beneath the wheels of a freight train. Lemon, then in his early teens, turned into a bit of a loner after that, people said, as anyone might. Brother Johnnie wiped clean from the family record, as if the reminder of his brief existence was too painful to chronicle. But Johnnie survived in the stories told around Wortham—another piece of Lemon Jefferson's meteoric rise that we're left to puzzle out. 135

Mance Lipscomb recalled Lemon playing regularly next to the railroad tracks in Deep Ellum district (originally "Deep Elm"), off Central Avenue, in Dallas around 1917. "Standpoint" they call it, where Lemon would play under the shade of a tree to large crowds—to keep him from causing a commotion in the streets. In an old photo, you can see the railroad tracks bisecting Deep Ellum's Central Avenue, where the Palace Theatre sits, alongside sporting houses, and brothels. Lemon somewhere there keeping a tin cup for a tip jar wired to the neck of his guitar. "But he would never take no pennies," Lipscomb said. "You could drop a penny in there and he would know the sound. He'd take it out and throw it away."136

In stories by contemporaries, there's some evidence Lemon carried a pistol with him on

trains and in brothels and bars, a habit that must have given even his friends pause.¹³⁷

In some accounts, Blind Lemon Jefferson's blindness was only partial. Reports by contemporaries mention him wrestling professionally to supplement his income (as a sideshow attraction? A celebrity wrestler? Likely we'll never know). Sometimes Lemon roamed around Dallas on his own, other times he used an assistant. If Huddie "Leadbelly" Ledbetter is to be taken at his word (which often served his own mythmaking as much as anything) then Ledbetter was a musical partner (accompanying him on guitar, mandolin, and accordion) and guide to Jefferson as early as 1912—they'd ride the railroad on the Texas circuit, later traveling to major cities in the South, following the cotton crop. Ledbetter's claim of traveling and playing with Lemon for eighteen years, however, is almost certainly untrue—as researcher Paul Swinton says, Ledbetter had clearly left the picture when he went to the penitentiary for murder in 1918.¹³⁸

Josh White, who would later achieve fame as an influential country blues guitarist, singer, and friend to FDR (and who was first recorded as a session guitarist for Paramount by Mayo Williams) seems to have assisted Jefferson in his broader travels as well.139 (White apparently was a sort of teenage "rental" for blind Black artists, including Blind Blake and Blind Joel Taggart, among others, and was so badly mistreated by Taggart that an unnamed Paramount employee intervened.)¹⁴⁰ The great post war electric blues guitarist, T-Bone Walker, greatly influenced by Jefferson, also served as a guide for Jefferson around Deep Ellum. "Afterwards," as Walker related to Helen Dance in Stormy Monday, "I'd guide him back up the hill, and Mama would fix supper. She'd pour him a little taste."141 It's tempting to see these

assistant jobs as some form of early Texas music apprenticeship akin to jazz, when a young Louis Armstrong would carry Joe Oliver's trumpet. But Josh White's virtual indentured servitude—malnourished, dressed in rags for authenticity, forced to sleep in fields—might dispel some of these notions.¹⁴²

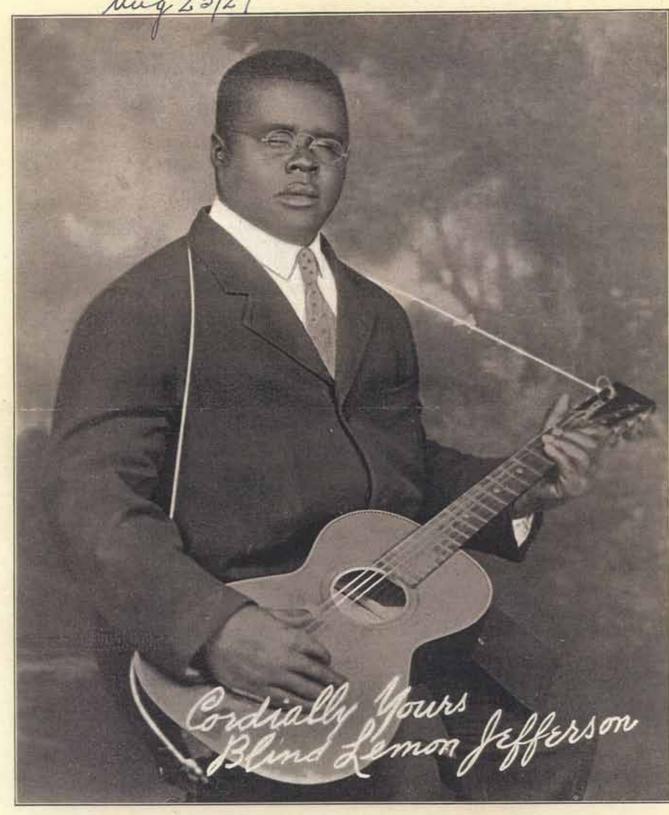
Discovering Blind Lemon

While the classic blues associated with vaudeville had begun to lose some of its lustre, remarkably it was Paramount, through its network of scouts established in lieu of expensive field recordings, that was poised for even bigger success. While the larger record companies had spent substantial resources on field recording equipment, Paramount either didn't have the money or simply didn't want to make the investment, which was becoming standard in the industry. But under Supper and Satherley, Paramount had established relationships with record dealers for distribution—though it's somewhat unclear whether they anticipated these dealers would play such prominent roles as talent scouts. The fact that Paramount did not require its talent scouts to send demonstration recordings in advance of their referred artists certainly did not hurt Paramount's chances of getting access to new discoveries early and often. In any case, R.T. Ashford, and his record store on Central Avenue in Dallas, would help Paramount launch arguably the most famous male blues star who ever lived and one of the most influential guitarists in history, developing the "lead guitar" for blues accompaniment before anyone else. In short, Blind Lemon Jefferson was one of the first performers ever—Black or White—to make recordings that widely influenced the singing and musicianship of others.143 Beginning in 1926, as music historian Robert Palmer says in *Blues and Chaos*, Jefferson goes from being an "itinerant street singer" to producing "a string of hit records that continued off and on until his death in 1929. Nowadays, Charley Patton, Robert Johnson and other Mississippi Delta bluesmen are best remembered among Jefferson's near-contemporaries. But [Jefferson] was arguably a more significant blues artist than any of them." And to Steve Calt, a Patton advocate and biographer, "[Jefferson was] as important within the scheme of blues as Elvis Presley is to rock."¹⁴⁴

Lemon's Quiet Anarchy

What did Jefferson do that was so revolutionary? His uniqueness on the guitar seems tied to his sense of improvisation within the twelve bar blues structure. Where earlier country blues players had always extended verses by a half bar or more, Jefferson's playing was more inventive and quietly anarchic. As Robert Palmer says, "while singing he would strum quiet chords or softly mark the beat, but his guitar fills... were liable to meander just about anywhere,"145 giving them the feel of pure invention, as if anything might happen (which it likely could before being confined to the three-minute recording limit). "This edge of your seat improvisation is what makes 'Matchbox Blues,' 'See That My Grave Is Kept Clean' and 'Black Snake Moan' perennially rewarding and surprising."146 Seemingly, Jefferson prepares the ear for something that his improvisation then delays and undermines, making for an even deeper and more emotionally affecting listening experience. And because of Jefferson's "near perfect harmonic and rhythmic counterpoint" between his singing and guitar playing, his sound is startlingly unique and difficult to emulate, although his influence will become pervasive.

1000 lug 25/21



Blind Lemon Jefferson, Paramount publicity photo 1927 - Blind Lemon

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Lyrically, Jefferson also threw in surprises. As researcher Paul Swinton points out, ¹⁴⁷ in some songs, he used floating verses for dramatic effect that had no direct connection to the verse before—a practice carried to later heights by Charley Patton, who John Fahey has pointed out was fond of the entire "disjunctive stanza." Or he'd make a song cohere thematically but surprise you with a comic association as he does with "Dynamite Blues":

The way I feel now, I could get a keg of dynamite [twice]

Put it all in her window and blow her up late at night

I could swallow some fire, take a drink of gasoline [twice]

Throw it up all over that woman and let her go up in steam

I'm gonna get in a cannon and let them blow me out to sea [twice]

Goin' down with the whales, let the mermaids make love with me

Getting Under Mayo's Skin

Maurice Supper's successor Art Laibly claimed he'd discovered Blind Lemon Jefferson on a Dallas street corner and asked him to play a tune. (These claims by Laibly, who was largely only responsible for record sales, not auditioning or managing the artists, continued to irk Mayo Williams even years later.) It seems clear from various accounts that Lemon Jefferson's friend Sam Price (who worked at R.T. Ashford's record store) had strongly recommended Jefferson to Laibly on a trip to Dallas. And Ashford may have accompanied Jefferson to Chicago—his daughter Lurline

Holland recalled that her father "would carry people with talent on the train to Chicago to audition." ¹⁴⁸

Laibly's questionable claim about Jefferson paradoxically might have contributed to Mayo Williams's discovery of another big Paramount success, Blind Blake, as if Williams wanted to show the Paramount executives what was what. In the end, Laibly's continued claims of superiority at locating talent would contribute to Mayo Williams's exit and the label's demise. It was Williams who actually managed auditions, recording sessions, and talent, even sometimes arranging visits with prostitutes for Jefferson:

[Laibly] bugged me that he was out in the field and had a better opportunity to get artists than I did. When he found out there was big money in this ... he became envious and jealous of me because I had a better 'in' than he did. And then he decided he wanted to get into the recording end of the business and kinda bugged me a great deal and harassed me and so forth. 149

Years later, Art Satherley also would indirectly claim propriety over Blind Lemon Jefferson's success, saying that in later recordings he'd "had the pleasure of saying the words in Blind Lemon Jefferson's ear" while Jefferson played and sang, also implying that Jefferson had worked through all his original songs and now was playing other "professionally written" material. All of this is murky, but given the copyright practices at the time, it's curious that pianist George Perkins was invited to write songs for Jefferson during a 1927 recording session. What he likely did, researcher Alex van der Tuuk suggests, is arrange material that Jefferson brought with him—four titles are copyrighted under Perkins's name and

88 — Blind Lemon — —

several list him as accompanist on piano. Reportedly, because of Jefferson's harmonic and rhythmic counterpointing, Perkins found it hard to keep up.¹⁵⁰

Lemon's Train Leaves the Depot

I went to the depot and I set my suitcase down

I thought about my baby and tears come rolling down

I said ticket agent how long your train been gone

Say you go the train that this fair brown left here on

I couldn't buy me no ticket but I walked on to the door

Well my baby left town she ain't coming here no more

—from "Booster Blues"

January. 1926. Lemon took the train to Chicago and recorded those first religious songs—"I Want To Be Like Jesus In My Heart" and "All I Want Is That Pure Religion"—under his religious pseudonym of Deacon L.J. Bates (Jefferson helping himself to a mask, sticking to his supposed promise in spirit if not the letter). Laibly decided not to release these recordings initially, possibly because of Paramount's ignorance about the appeal of sacred music—one they shared with much of the record industry. 151 In any case, Jefferson impressed them enough to be invited back in March of 1926, where he recorded his first blues-revolutionary by any standard—under his own name. Six titles were recorded during two sessions, the first two sides of which were "Dry Southern Blues" and "Booster Blues," and when they were released that summer, as researcher Paul Swinton says, "they caused a sensation."

Paramount, as if to mark the occasion, misspelled their star's name on his first records: "Jeffreson." 152

Marsh Laboratories. October 1926. Lemon Jefferson picking "Bad Luck Blues."

He's a big man, likes his women with some meat on the bone. Mr. Williams taking care of everything. Even helps trim the song to fit on the record, like a tailor. Make it fit under three, Mr. Williams says. Cut that verse, save this one.

The woman I love's 'bout five feet from the ground

Doggone my bad luck soul

Hey, five feet from the ground

Five feet from the, I mean ground

She's a tailor-made woman, she ain't no handme-down

Mr. Williams's secretary, Miss Dickerson, doesn't seem to like Lemon much. Lemon doesn't know what to make of her. Mr. Jefferson, she said earlier, like her eyebrow's raised at him, what's the name of the first song? He laughed, said he does three versions, so he'll have to think about it. She sighed. Said he needed to pick just one name for the copyright. He could hear her pencil scratching away. She smelled like rose talcum. "Bad Luck Blues," he said, finally. He pretended to tune his guitar. Thought: light-skinned, probably.

Miss Dickerson said, in a voice that didn't have time for him, *please spell your name*.

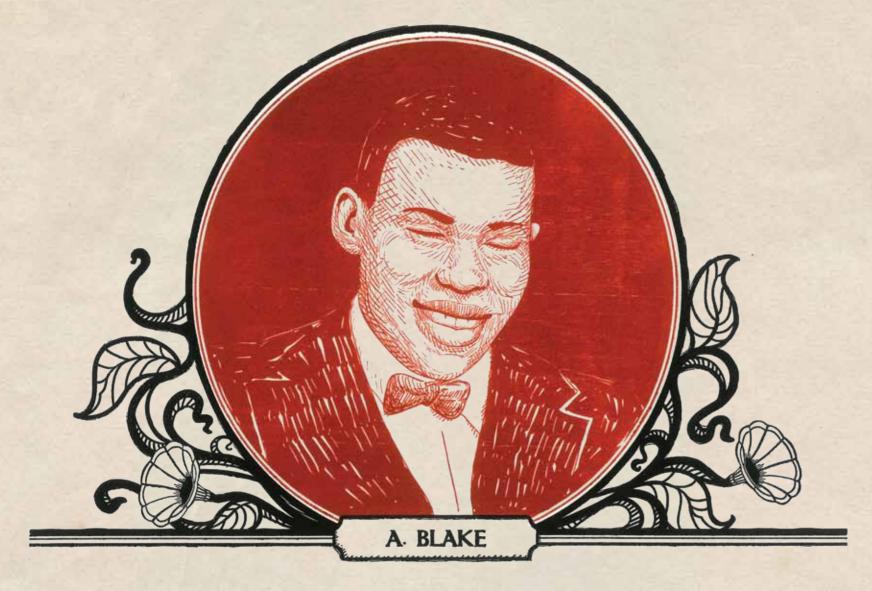
Lemon Jefferson will record his astounding 93

Blind Lemon —

songs for Paramount in three years. Everyone will listen up. Lemon Jefferson making recordings for right now that will have another life of their own. So much so, that a traditional set of songs will grow out of these Paramount recordings—arrangements, re-fittings of these songs that will still be played in the mid-fifties all over the South, but unattributed to him. He'll become a wealthy man, chauffeured around town in the \$725 Ford that Mayo Williams purchases for him. Soon, in 1927, despite Jefferson's exclusive contract with Paramount, he'll be mysteriously spirited away to an Okeh Records recording session (possibly arranged by a disaffected Mayo Williams) and two of the songs recorded in Atlanta, Georgia (and later re-recorded by Paramount), "Black Snake Moan" and "Matchbox Blues," will become legendary, the latter a hit many years later by both Carl Perkins and the Beatles. He'll bring some country up with him, open the door for all the great Texas, Delta, and Piedmont country blues artists to follow. And in only three short years and not long after he visits Grafton, Wisconsin and sits in the Moesers' living room, Lemon Jefferson—in varying accounts—will be found curled up dead outside his Chicago residence (victim of an apparent heart attack).¹⁵³

But right now, Lemon's head is uncluttered. He's picking out "Bad Luck Blues," singing how he hasn't seen his sugar in three long weeks today, lamenting his bad luck soul. Lemon likely feels it before he hears it: the 'L' train's rumble as it approaches Orlando Marsh's studio beside the elevated tracks. Williams and the rest try to get Lemon to stop, to wait for the train to pass, so they can get another matrix and start over. But he plays louder, sings in his high keening voice, pushes right on through, like meeting like.

- 135 Paul Swinton, pre-publication discography and biography of Blind Lemon Jefferson, 1.
- 136 Paul Swinton, "A Twist of Lemon," Blues and Rhythm (#121), 1
- 137 Ibid., 1.
- 138 Ibid., 1-2.
- 139 Ibid., 2.
- 140 Elijah Wald, Josh White: Society Blues (Routledge, 2000), 22-24.
- 141 Helen Dance, Stormy Monday: The T-Bone Walker Story (Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 11.
- 142 Elijah Wald, Josh White: Society Blues (Routledge, 2000), 21-25.
- 143 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 115.
- 144 Robert Palmer, Blues and Chaos, (Scribner, 2009), 56-57.
- 145 Ibid., 56.
- 146 Ibid., 56-57.
- 147 Paul Swinton, pre-publication discography and biography of Blind Lemon Jefferson, 4.
- 148 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 110-113.
- 149 Paul Swinton, pre-publication discography and biography of Blind Lemon Jefferson, 4.
- 150 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 113.151 Paul Swinton, and publication discography and biography of
- 151 Paul Swinton, pre-publication discography and biography of Blind Lemon Jefferson, 2.
- 152 Ibid., 3.
- 153 Alex van der Tuuk, *Paramount's Rise and Fall*, second edition (Mainspring Press, 2012), 114.



Blind Blake

Blake, what is your right name?
My right name is Arthur Blake.
Whaat? Where you get that Arthur at?
Oh, I'm the Arthur of many things.

—Papa Charlie Jackson and Blind Arthur Blake, "Papa Charlie And Blind Blake Talk About It Part 1"



lind Blake and Papa Charlie Jackson recorded two sides of a record for Paramount in 1929 when they talked about it (included in the second volume of this collection). This might

have been one of the highlights of Papa Charlie's musical life, meeting one of his idols he'd learned from, vicariously, for so long. Blind Arthur Blake. The man who made his guitar sound like saxophone, trombone, clarinet, bass fiddle, and ragtime piano. You can hear this piano sound in the "Papa Charlie And Blind Blake Talk About It Part 1." Even stripped down, having simple fun, he's the Arthur of many things. When Mayo Williams brought

Blind Blake — 9

Big Bill Broonzy in to the Chicago offices to audition (an audition he failed) in 1926, Broonzy saw a blind man he didn't recognize. When Williams introduced the blind man as Blind Blake, Broonzy "fell out." Couldn't believe he was actually meeting the man, the best picker there was. 154

Paramount, like everyone else in the record business, seemed completely caught off guard by Blind Lemon Jefferson's success. They sold tens of thousands of records (the actual number may never be known), wore out the original metal masters from his early sessions and Jefferson had to rerecord those songs. (As researcher Paul Swinton points out, this was similar to Sun Records barely keeping up with the phenomenon that was Elvis Presley thirty years later.) Not surprisingly, Paramount would go back to the "blind singer guitarist" well many times. Blind Willie Davis, Blind Roosevelt Graves, and Blind Joel Taggart are a few of the most prominent ones. But it was Blind Arthur Blake who, for a brief time, rose alongside Jefferson in popularity. Unclassifiable. Researchers Steve Calt and Woody Mann argue that Blake is a "musical curiosity" because... "his records betray no basic musical orientation, and it's anyone's guess as to whether blues, guitar instrumentals, or even pop ditties were his original specialty. While most blind guitarists were soloists who used the helter-skelter phrasing of the street dancer, Blake's blues phrasing had the strictness of a dance or band musician. It is likely that ensemble playing (perhaps with a jazz band) had a real impact on his music."155

We have all heard expressions of people 'singing in the rain' or 'laughing in the face of adversity,' but we never saw such a good

example of it, until we came upon the history of Blind Blake. Born in Jacksonville, in sunny Florida, he seemed to absorb some of the sunny atmosphere—disregarding the fact that nature had cruelly denied him a vision of outer things. He could not see the things that others saw—but he had a better gift. A gift of an inner vision, that allowed him to see things more beautiful.

—The Paramount Book of Blues, 1927

In the summer of 1926, Paramount turned Arthur Blake into a solo artist like Jefferson, likely hoping to cash in on Blake's smoother "down home" sound. His first record, "Early Morning Blues" and the swinging "West Coast Blues," influenced many other blues guitarists who were listening in, like William Moore, Reverend Gary Davis, and Papa Charlie, of course, who'd already gotten the news. "The guitar was being played like a piano in almost all the areas of America except the Delta," says guitarist Stefan Grossman, one of Reverend Gary Davis's students, 156 "... meaning that the left hand was literally doing that boom-chick, boom-chick pattern. Blake was able to use his right-hand thumb to syncopate it more, like a Charleston. He was very, very rhythmic and incredibly fast—I don't know anyone who can get to that speed. That's Blake's real claim to fame ... what he's doing with his right hand set him apart from everyone. Reverend Gary Davis said Blake had a 'sportin' right hand.' "157 In the fall of 1926, Blake was playing behind Ma Rainey on "Morning Hour Blues," "Little Low Mamma Blues," and "Grievin Hearted Blues." In November of 1927, Gus Cannon accompanied Blake on banjo for "He's In The Jailhouse Now." During the 1950s, researcher Jas Obrecht says, Sam Charters asked Cannon for his memories of Blake. According to Charters's book Sweet As the Showers of Rain, Cannon re92 — Blind Blake — Blind Blake

sponded: "We drank so much whiskey... and that boy would take me out with him at night and get me so turned around I'd be lost if I left his side. He could see more with his blind eyes than I with my two good ones."

A gift of an inner vision, that allowed him to see things more beautiful.

Mayo Williams said that Arthur Blake liked to get drunk and fight.¹⁵⁸

How did that work, you wonder? Something like a dance?

First thing we do is swing your partner... promenade...

Knowing just where your partner will be?

I got something that'll make you feel good...

Never lead with your sportin' hand, Arthur Blake's only rule.

Since nobody knew what had happened to Blake after his last recordings with Paramount in 1932, there were always rumors. Conjecture about the Arthur of many things: someone had seen him playing on the streets of Jacksonville during the Depression. The Reverend Gary Davis said he'd heard he was run over by a streetcar. Others said he'd been beaten bloody and robbed, like the blind sometimes are in stories. It's only human to wish for a dramatic arc, a roundhouse end to a large-lived existence, some sound and fury. But that's not the way it went.

In the end, Arthur Blake died of the white plague, tuberculosis, the same disease that took Keats, the Bronte Sisters, the poet Paul Dunbar, writer Anton Chekhov, and the yodeling cowboy, Jimmie Rogers ("TB Blues"). It's a small thing, in the end. A quiet thing that fills

you up with yourself until you can't hold it anymore. In December of 1934, Arthur Blake went on his way while headed to a hospital in Milwaukee, where he'd been living all along, when everyone was so full of wondering. Just nineteen miles downriver from Grafton, Wisconsin where he'd recorded his last records with Paramount in 1932. 159

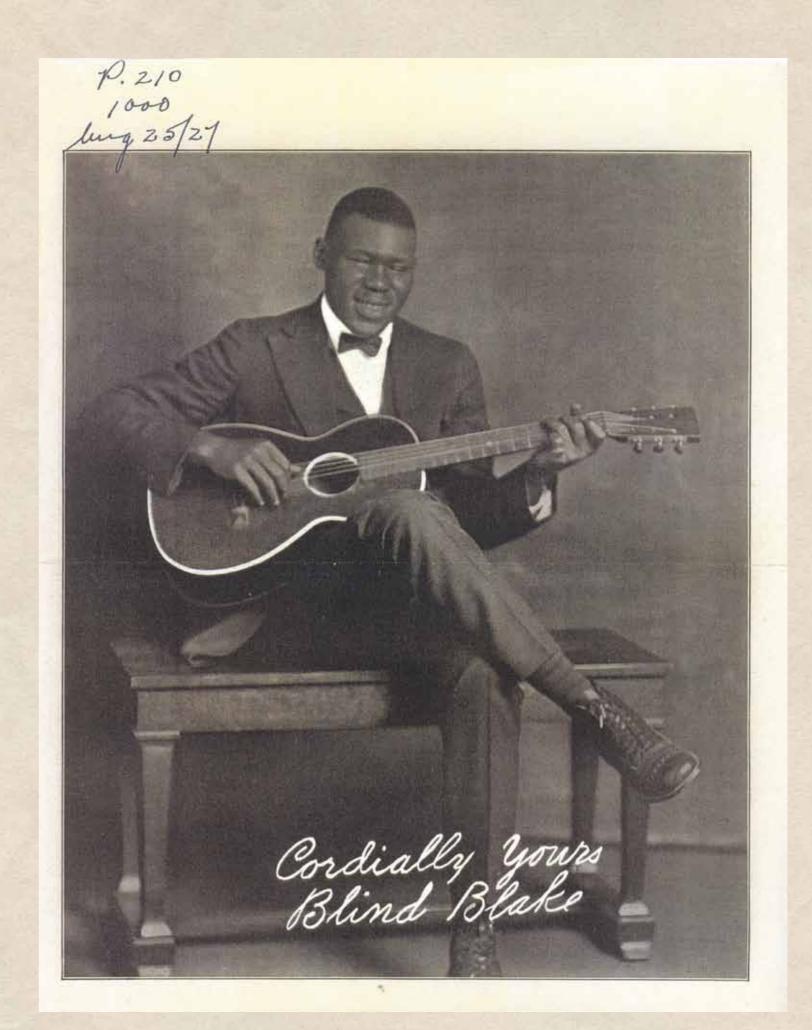
Down by the River

Then God spake unto the fish; and from the shuddering cold and blackness of the sea, the whale came breeching up towards the warm and pleasant sun, and all the delights of air and earth; and 'vomited out Jonah upon the dry land;' when the word of the Lord came a second time; and Jonah, bruised and beaten—his ears, like two sea-shells, still multitudinously murmuring of the ocean—Jonah did the Almighty's bidding. And what was that, shipmates? To preach the Truth to the face of Falsehood! That was it!

—Herman Melville, Moby Dick

Scattered along the Milwaukee River bottom, moving about in eddies, all those records. Voices lost to time, you'd think. But seemingly the more Paramount bungled things, the more willful their ignorance, the shadier their practices, the more they fled from the voices, the more readily the voices found them.

Blind Blake and Papa Charlie are down there still talking about it. Charley Patton, Son House and Skip James are making their way. The Delta blues rising out of nothing and settling back into it again during the worst of the Depression, high water everywhere. Nobody knows what this is, this hoot owl sound, but it raises the hair on your neck, prickles your skin.



Blind Blake, Paramount publicity photo, 1927.

Songs, voices that make the personal mythic, the everyday the subject of high drama, terror, and mystery. And like Melville's old Jonah spat out onto the shore, we've already caught the tune, our ears "like two seashells, still multitudinously murmuring of the ocean."

-Scott Blackwood, July 2013

With grateful acknowledgment to Alex van der Tuuk, whose groundbreaking research provides the sturdy framework for this narrative.

154 Ibid., 124.

- 155 Steve Calt, Woody Mann, Liner notes, *The Best of Blind Blake* (Yazoo Records, 2000).
- 156 Jas Obrecht, "The King of Ragtime Guitar: Blind Blake and His Piano-Sounding Guitar." Accessed February 15, 2013. http://www.gracyk.com/blakel.shtml.
- 157 Ibid.
- 158 Ibid.
- 159 Alex van der Tuuk, Bob Eagle, Rob Ford, Eric LeBlanc, and Angela Mack, "In Search of Blind Blake: Arthur Blake's Death Certificate Unearthed," by courtesy of Alex van der Tuuk, 3.



A selection of images and ephemera from Paramount and the New York Recording Laboratories, 1917-1927.

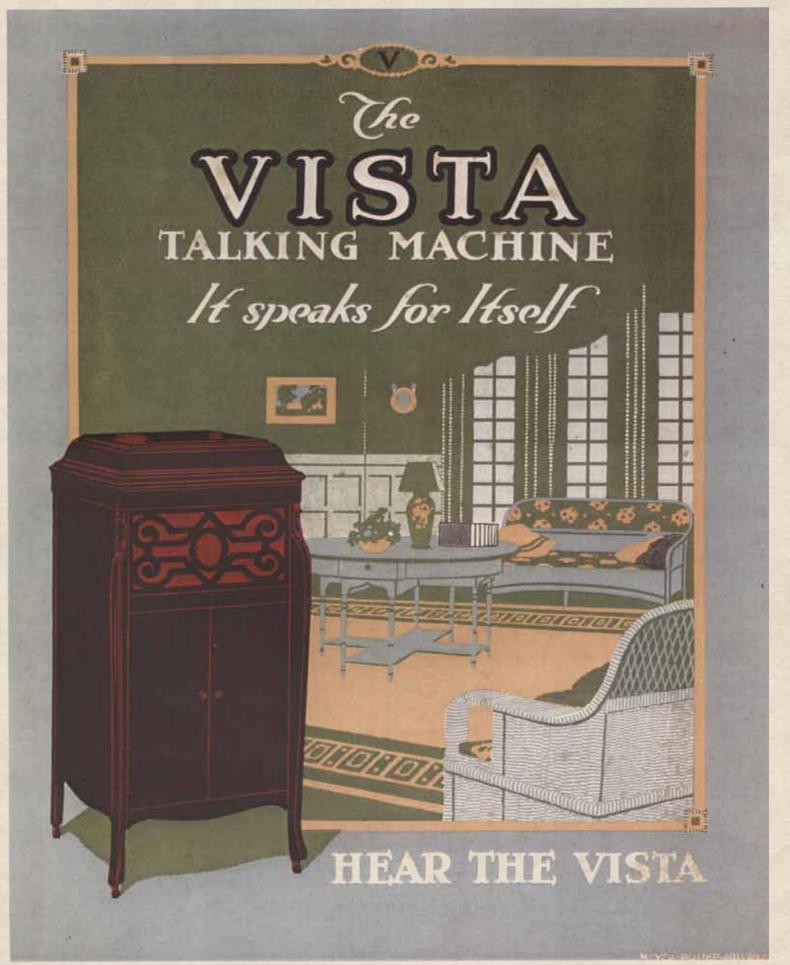
N.B.:

Included here in print form are many of the most graphically rich of the advertisements which ran in *Chicago Defender* during the period. The entire run of more than 200 such ads is provided in digital form on the "Jobber-Luxe" USB device housed within your *Rise & Fall* cabinet.

A few pieces of post-1927 ephemera are included here; in such cases, the release being promoted is believed to have been recorded prior to the end of 1927.

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We are indebted to the many collectors who've generously allowed us to reprint these pieces. Any further use of these materials requires the donor's permission. All sources for such materials are noted in the Credits section.



Poster for phonograph line of Paramount's sister brand, Vista Talking Machine Co., 1917.



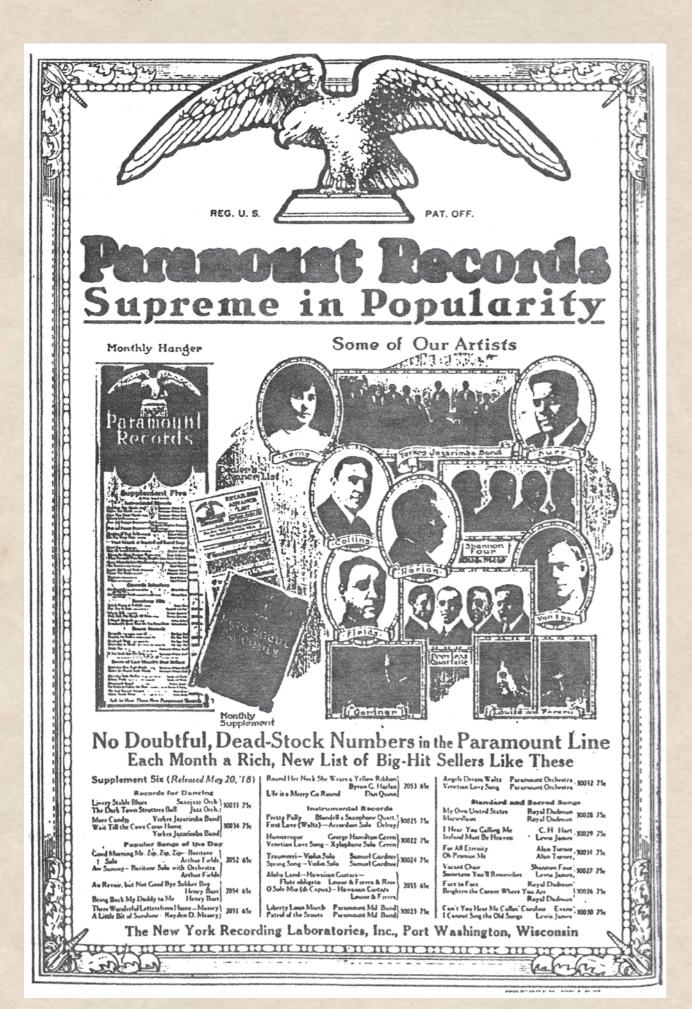
JUNE MUSIC SALE

9 Sheets Popular Music. \$1.00

Latest Paramount Records

Three wonderful letters from home Venetian love song: Xylophone solo, "Good Morning, Mr. Zip, Zip, Zip,": "Bring Back My Daddy to Me," and many other 10-inch double-faced records at 75¢ each. Call for demonstrations.





Ad for some of Paramount's earliest releases, by Louise and Ferera, Fred Van Eps, Henry Burr and Peerless Quartette, ca. 1918

Operating Instructions.



How To Set Up

After removing the phonograph from the crate, rub it off carefully with a piece of soft, dry cloth, to remove dust. Unfasten the tone-arm, which is secured for safety in shipping, and swing it to the right to allow room for putting on the turntable, which will be found packed underneath the cabinet.

Place the turntable over the turntable spindle. Be sure that the turntable slides down over the spindle as far as it will go. It will be necessary to hold the brake back while you are fitting the turntable in place. Then release the brake which will press against the edge of the turntable and stop the motor, while you insert the winding crank, which you will find packed with the turntable.

Pass the winding crank through the escutcheon in the right hand side of the cabinet. Push it in gently until it engages the winding shaft of the motor. Then turn the handle to the right until it screws onto the end of the shaft. A little oil or vaseline on the edge of the escutcheon will help the winding crank to work more smoothly.

Before starting to play, wind up the motor slowly and allow it to run down completely two or three times. Be sure not to wind the spring too tightly.

How to Oil

The necessity for oiling the motor depends upon how often it is played. The motor is tested and oiled before leaving the factory. If it does not run smooth or squeaks, oil at once.

Remove the two front screws in motor board. Do not remove any but these two screws. Also take out winding crank by turning handle to left. Then lift up motor board with motor attached to it, so that all parts are visible.

Oil all bearing parts, using only the best quality of sewing machine or clock oil. On the governor worm shalt, apply a little vaseline; also around the escutcheon at the end of the winding shalt, where crank goes through cabinet.

After oiling all the bearing parts, replace motor board and insert winding crank.

II, after some service, the motor runs with a jumping, thumping sound, it is a sign that the springs need labricating. This is a difficult adjustment and we recommend that you send the motor to one of our dealers complete.

Universal Tone-arm

All Paramount phonographs are equipped with a Universal Tone-arm so that your Paramount will play all makes of disc records—the Pathe and Elison, as well as the Paramount, Victor, Columbia, etc.

Upkeep of Finish

In order to keep the finish in fine condition a mixture of one-half olive oil and water, used for cleaning once in a while, and wiped off dry with a soft cloth will-keep the finish in fine shape.

This applies to all finishes but fumed oak, which should be wiped off with a dry cloth only.

Speed Regulator

By means of the speed regulator, you can increase or decrease the speed of the motor. Records are made to be played at a uniform speed—78 revolutions a minute. If played slower, the pitch is lowered.

It is well to test the speed of your motor occasionally. Insert a strip of paper under the record so that the one end projects out and can be seen plainly. While the machine is running, count the number of revolutions the turntable is making by counting the number of times the paper passes a certain point. If the motor is running too fast, turn the indicator a little towards "Slow." If the motor is running too slow, turn it towards "Fast."

Tone-Modifier

The tone modifier is controlled by pulling out the small metal knob on the side of the cabinet, beside the winding crank. By means of this convenient device, you can suit the volume of tone to the size of the room or the character of the music—you can give each record your own personal interpretation.

Paramount Talking Machine Company Port Washington, Wisconsin,

U. S. A.

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Operating instruction sheet for Paramount Talking Machine brand phonograph cabinet, ca. 1919.



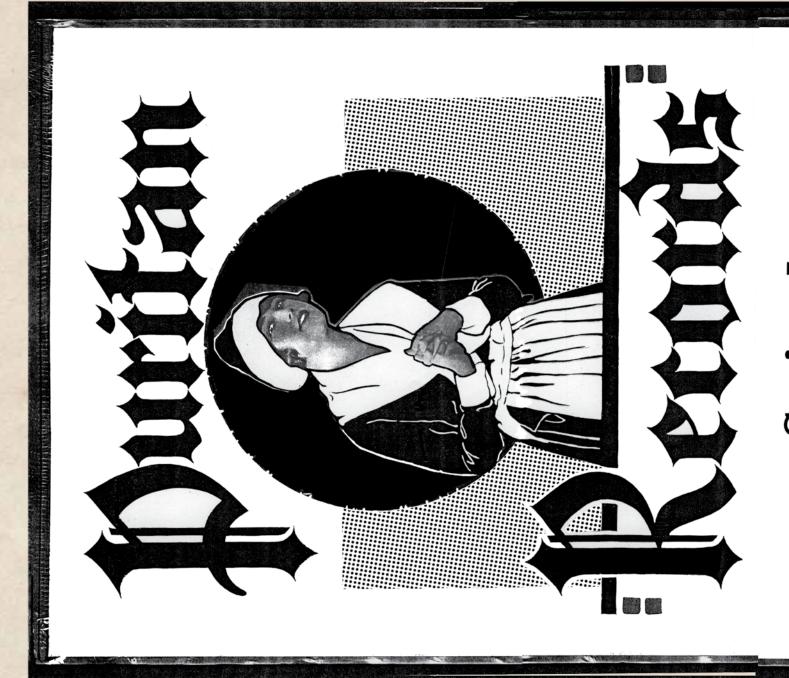
PARAMOUNT PHONOGRAPH NEEDLES

1 PKG. FULL TONE NEEDLES
1 PKG. HALF TONE NEEDLES
1 SAPHIRE BALL POINT NEEDLE
FOR PLAYING PATHE RECORDS

1 DIAMOND POINT NEEDLE .
FOR PLAYING EDISON RECORDS.



Box packaging for Paramount Talking Machine brand phonograph needles, ca. 1919. Print struck from original metal print block, featuring logo for Paramount Records, 1920.



Series

	10	10		_	_			_	_	_		6	
Price	1.28	1.25	. 00:		1.00					1.0		1.00	1.0
Number	15036 1.25	15037 1.25	9060 1.00	9067 1.00	9071 1.00	9072 1.00		11032 1.00	11034 1.00	11036 1.00		11035	11033 1.00
Instrumental Records	William Tell Overture, Part I—At Dawn Concert Band Creatore and His Band William Tell Overture, Part II—The Storm Concert Band Creatore and His Band	William Tell Overture, Part III—The Calm Concert Band Creatore and His Band William Tell Overture, Part IV—Finale Concert Band Creatore and His Band	Aloha Land——Hawaiian Guitars, Flute Obligato [First Love——Accordion Solo Delroy]	Kiss Me Again—Violin, Saxophone, Piano (Victor Herbert) Old Homestead Trio A Perfect Day—Violin, Saxophone, Piano (Carrie Jacobs Bond) Old Homestead Trio	Saxophobia — Saxophone Sole, Orch. Acc. (Weideeft) Souvenir of Switzerland — Cornet Sole, Orch. Acc. Pietro Capodiferro	Jolly Coppersmith — March Military Band (Peters) Bergh's Band Here They Come — March Military Band (Bergh) Bergh's Band	Dance Records	Darling — Medley Fox Trot Introducing: "Love Flower" Newport Society Orchestra Fox Trot (Johnson-Kendis-Brockman) Newport Society Orchestra	Old Timer's Waltz-Medley, Part I—(Aranged by Ben Selvin) Selvin's Novelty Orchestra Old Timer's Waltz-Medley, Part II—(Aranged by Ben Selvin) Selvin's Novelty Orchestra	Grieving for You—Medley Fox Trot Introducing: "Fing Ling Foo" Vernon Trio (Gibson-Cold-Ribaud) Any Time, Any Day, Anywhere—(Max Kortlander) Vernon Trio	Vocal Records	Cld Pal, Why Don't You Answer Me?—Tenor Solo, Orch. Acc. Sam Ash Tripoli (On the Shores of)—Soprano-Tenor Duet (Well-Cunninghan-Dubin) Helen Bell Rush and Billy Jones See Old Man Moon Smile—Comedians, Orch. Acc. Bernard and Hare	Change Your Name, Malinda Lee—Conedians, Orch. Acc. (Al Bernard) Bernard and Hare







Window display touting releases on Paramount's sister brand, Puritan Records, ca. 1920.

Funeral fan advertising Puritan's phonograph line, ca. 1919-20.



N the esteem of inner musical circles, Puritan Phonographs have earned a position of leadership such as has never before been attained by any other

Disinterested testimony, such as is shown in the accompanying excerpts from actual letters, means more to you than anything we could possibly say, especially when the letters are from people who are well known in the musical world. Read what they have to say about the Puritan. Puritan.

MI - MI - MI HUGO BACH

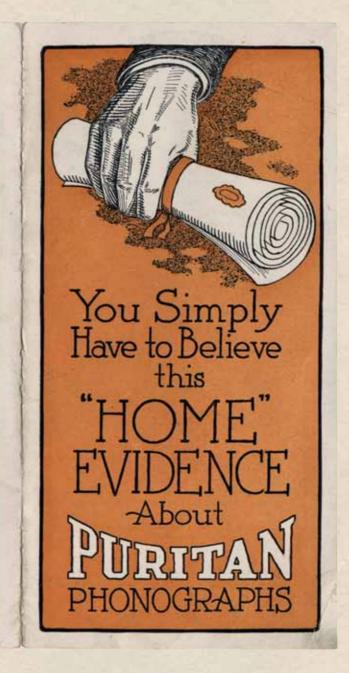
Composer, Cellist and Celebrated Director, says:

When I purchased a Puritan Phonograph from you I realized at the time that I was in possesion of a superior in-

But it was not until after I gave the Puritan a thorough test in my home that I was actually aware of the remarkable "find" I had. A musician myself, I am doubly critical and when I assure you that the violin and cello reproductions were as near perfect as any I had ever heard you can appreciate my orthogonal. heard you can appreciate my enthusiasm. And this remarkable reproduction was was not confined to the string instruments alone—the brass instruments, the piano and the voice were duplicated with almost uncanny perfection.

And then too, the absolutely silent motor and the lack of surface noise helped

greatly to help improve the reproduction.





Brochure for Puritan brand phonographs, ca. 1920-1921.

Newspaper ad for Paramount brand phonographs, records and needles, 1920.



YOU'may have heard many different phonographs—scores of them—but until you have heard the Puritan you haven't heard the

The Puritan represents a new phase in the development of sound-reproducing instruments and is the one phonograph that has charmed music lovers away from the belief that it was impossible to preserve the indiridual tone quali-ty of voice and instrument and reproduce them unmarred by mechanical sound or imperfec-

unmarred by mechanical sound or imperfections.

The Puritan accomplishes this seeming impossibility by means of its wonderful new sound
chamber, or acousticator—the construction of
which is based on the latest scientific principles
governing resonance, transmission and modification of sound. The rich, vibrant, resultant
effects of massed orchestral and band instruments, the subtle tone-shading of the violin,
the bell-clear sweetness of the tenor voice, the
deep-register sonority of the baritone—all the deep-register sonority of the baritons—all the bidden beauties of the record, the Puritan searches out and recreates undimmed, un-

marred, undistorted.

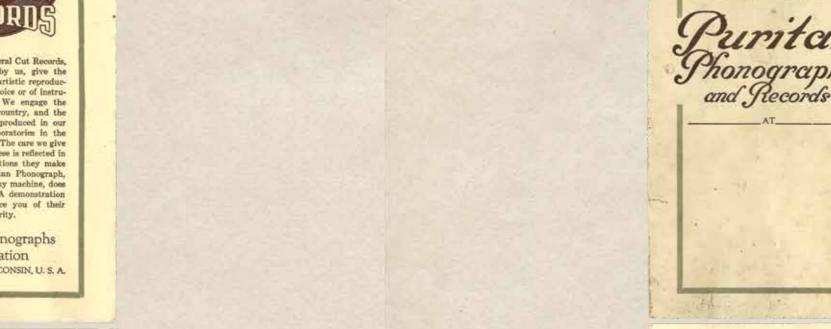
The nine models shown on this circular offer a wide range of choice in styles and prices.

Manufactured by the United Phonographs Corporation Sheboygan, Wisconsin, U. S. A.



THE Puritan Lateral Cut Records, I manufactured by us, give the most accurate and artistic reproduc-tion of the human voice or of instrumental renditions. We engage the best talent in the country, and the master records are produced in our own Recording Laboratories in the City of New York. The care we give in manufacturing these is reflected in the wonderful renditions they make possible. The Puritan Phonograph, most successful of any machine, does them full justice. A demonstration will quickly convince you of their quality and superiority.

United Phonographs Corporation SHEBOYGAN, WISCONSIN, U. S. A.



XX MATIGUE WX



WIND PURITAN WA

Skeletonized View

Showing the Great, Deep Acousticator Used in all Puritan Phonographs



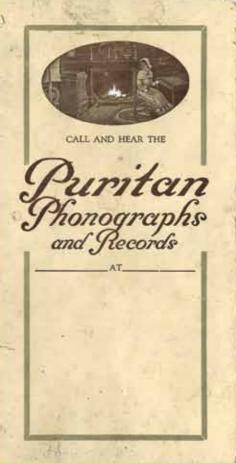
The full-throated, long horn sound chamber is found only on Puritan Phonographs. This is an exclusive patented feature that no other manufactures can make or use. It makes the Puritan music incomparably sweet in tone, clear in expression and rich in volume.

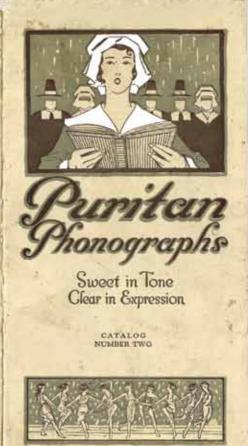
STANDISH STANDISH

Makepany, Red or Brown

Equipped with Furitan strong triple spring motor, 12 inch turn table. Automatic stop. Tone modifying device. Furitan tone srm and reproducer for playing all makes of disc records. All triumings gold plated. Record compartment equipped with six record allums. Height, 37 inches; length, 40 inches; depth, 24 inches. Promotional brochure for Puritan brand phonographs and records,

ca. 1920.







WE NATIFIED WE

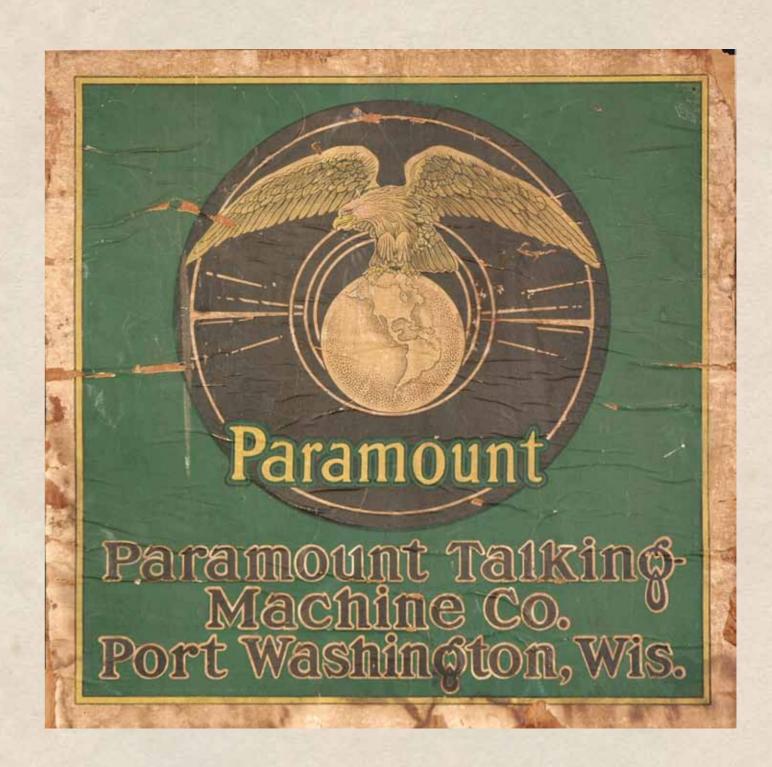
Note These Special Features of Puritan Construction.

TONE CONTROL-Convenient and adjustable,

TONE ARM—Universal. Plays all makes of disc records without the use of additional devices.

CABINET WORK AND DESIGN—Puritan Cabineta are exquisitely designed and finished. They are the masterwork of long-trained cabinet makess in our own factory.





Newspaper ad for Paramount brand phonographs and records, 1920. Shipping crate label for Paramount Talking Machine brand phonographs, 1920.



recording Flo Bert demonstrates Puritan's "Baroque" model phonograph,

Hear Alberta Hunter



(The Idol of Dreamland)

Sing "Don't Pan Me" and "Daddy Blues"

-the sensational blues songs with which she captivated Chicago's Dreamland for two seasons-now you can hear her sing her famous songs in your own home! Don't fail to hear her "Don't Pan Me" and "Daddy Blues"-now exclusively on Paramount Records (see list below).

Alberta Hunter is now singing for Paramount. Like other great artists of the Race, she has signed a contract to render her best songs exclusively for Paramount.

Paramount Records

-all the best music when it's new. Every record gives you two big "hits"some real music on each side—no "dead ones" in the whole Paramount catalog. Play them on any phonograph. Every record guaranteed. If there isn't a Paramount dealer near you, write for catalog-or order direct from the records

Send for these Sensational Blues Records -September Release Only 75 cents, or buy 4 and get one FREE

Dealers, Agents, Representatives— MAKE BIG MONEY EASY

We have a very profitable proposition for live wire dealers and agents. A few choice territories still open. Our agents make big money. Write



No. | DON'T PAN ME-Alberta Hunter Alberta Hunter SEND BACK MY HONEY MAN—
Lucille Hegamin
20151 I'VE GOT TO COOL MY PUPPLES NOW—

No. Solution of the second of

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Send currency or Post Office Money Order. Records sent to you Postpaid, 75 cents each; all five for \$3.00.

The New York Recording Laboratories, Inc. Port Washington, Wisconsin

Chicago Defender ad for Alberta Hunter's first release on Paramount. August 19. 1922.

SWEEPING THE COUNTRY

3 BIG HITS ON BLACK SWAN RECORDS

ETHEL WATERS:

THAT DA DA STRAIN) 14120 GEORGIA BLUES

AT THE NEW JUMP STEADY BALL OH JOE PLAY THE TROMBONE

TRIXIE SMITH:

MY MAN ROCKS ME WITH ONE STEADY 14127 SLOW DRAG BLUES [ROLL (



The Only Genuine Colored Record. Others Are Only Passing for Colored PACE PHONOGRAPH CORP., 2289 Seventh Avenue, NEW YORK, N. Y. AGENTS WANTED EVERYWHERE

Chicago Defender ad for Black Swan Records 9, 1922; by April 1924 Paramount will have merged with this label.



It's a wow! A zippy, zesty, jazz fox trot with a punch in every verse. It's the latest, peppiest Paramount record—and "Teddy Bear Blues," on the reverse side, is a real knockout. Two late hits, played by the California Ramblers, for the price of only one! Ask your dealer for Paramount Record No. 20174.

Popular Records by Colored Artists

Have You Heard this Star's Greatest Record? When ALBERTA HUNTER Sings "DOWN HEARTED BLUES"

you'll agree she's America's Supreme Blues Singer. Another hit—"Gonna Have You, Ain't Gonna Leave You Alone", on reverse side. Ask for Paramount Record No. 12005—the most popular record out.

- 12001-Don't Pan Me and Daddy Blues-Both by Alberta Hunter.
- 12068—You Can't Have It All and Why Did You Fick Me Up
 When I Was Down, Why Didn't You Let Me Lay?—Vocal
 Blues with Orch. Acc. Sung by Alberta Hunter.

 12007—Lonesome Monday Morning Blues and Craxy Blues—
 Sung by Alberta Hunter.
- 12006—Jaxxin' Baby Blues and I'm Going Away to Wear You Off My Mind—Alberta Hunter with Euble Blake at plano. Off My Mind—Alberta Hunter with Euble Blake at plano.

 20108—He May Be Your Man, But He Comes to See Me and I've Gotthe Wonder Where He Went and When He's Coming Home Blues—Sung by Lucille Hegamin, acc. by Blue Flame Syncopators.

 20161—I Wish I Could Shimmie Like My Sister Kate and Strutting at the Strutters Ball—Recorded in wonderful dancing rhythm by the original Memphis Five.

 20053—Arkansas Blues by Lucille Hagamin, accompanied by Blue Flame Syncopators Everybody's Blues, by Lucille Hegamin, acc, by Harris' Blues and Jazz Seven.

Paramount Records

New York Office



Wanted!

Ask your dealer for Paramount Records-or if he can't supply you order direct from factory or New York Office. Send No Money—All records mailed C. O. D. postpaid. Just pay postman 75c each.

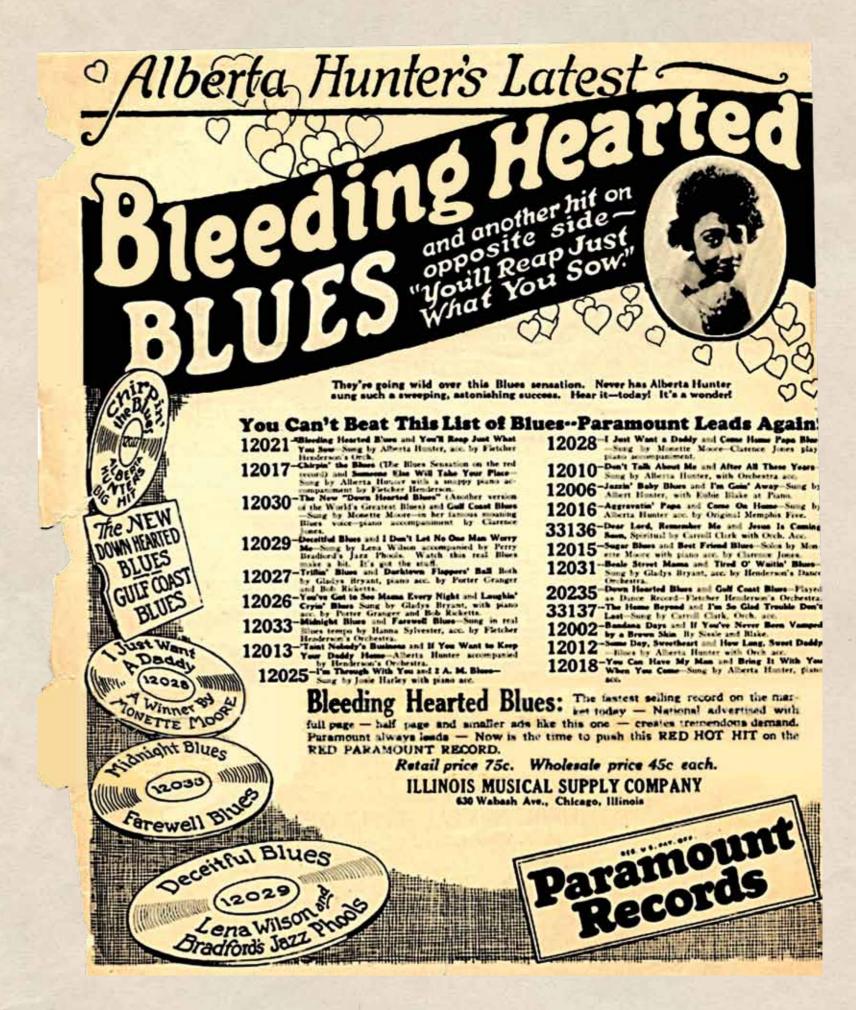
THE NEW YORK RECORDING LABORATORIES, Inc. Port Washington, Wis.

Chicago Defender ad, December 23, 1922.



SUPER LOUD 100 100 EXCLUSIVE PARAMOUNT ARTIST





Chicago Defender ad touting Ethel Waters' first new releases following her return from touring, May 26, 1923.

Ad in newspaper supplement, June 1923.



NEW RECORDINGS

ETHEL WATERS

14148—IF YOU DON'T THINK I'LL DO, SWEET POPS (JUST TRY ME) TRIXIE SMITH-

14149—TIRED OF WAITIN' BLUES TRIFLIN' BLUES

MARY STRAINE-

14150—CHIRPIN' THE BLUES DOWN-HEARTED BLUES

Black Swan Agents Are Making From \$25 to \$75 Weekly in localities where we have no dealers. Let us tell you how to make extra money in your spare time.

BLACK SWAN PHONOGRAPH CO.

2289 Seventh Avenue New York City



Race's Favorite Stars with Paramount

Whether your musical taste craves beautiful spiritual melodies, stirring band marches, or up-to-date jazz-Paramount

gives you the best there is. The greatest stars of the Race—singers and players artists, every one—record only for Paramount. You should have a complete Paramount Race Record Catalog to pick from. Write for it today.

Hear These Paramount Hits!

12027—By and By and Oh Olda't it Rain-Tenor Solo, Piano Acc. Miss Andrades Lindsay-Carroll

12038-Swing Low, Sweet Charlot and I Steed on De Ribber of Jordan-Tenor Solo, Plano Acc. Miss

12061-

What a Time Talk-

ing with the Angels and Hard Trials by

Horace George's

Jubilee Harmon.

12009—The Swallow—Soprano Solo by Madam Hur Fairfax—Piano Acc. and They Needed A Song Ble in Heaven—Tenor Solo by Madam Hurd Fairfax— Piano Acc.

12019—1'm So Glad Trouble Don't Last Alway—Mento Solo by Madam Hurd Fairfax—Plano Acc. and Somebody's Knocking at Your Door—Contralto Solo by Madam Hurd Fairfax—Plano Acc.

3-1've Got the Blues for Rampari Street, Orch. Acc.-Ida Cox and lues Serenaders and Chattacoga Blues-Plano Acc. Lotte Austin-Ida Cox.

2-New Graveyard Dream Blues (with new years and chorus) and Come.

Right In-Plane Acc. Lovie Austin-Ida Cos. 12056-Chicago Bound (Famous Migration) Blues and I Love My Man Better

12065-Experience Blues and Sad 'a' Lonely Blues-Orch. Acc.-Alberta Hunter and Her Paramount Boys.

Wonderful Ida-idol of the Race-stakes her reputation on these three great Blues hits listed at left. Hear them,

MONEY

Cut out this ad and take it to your dealer.

If he can't supply Paramount Records, order direct from factory. Records are mailed C. O. D., 75c each, postage prepaid. Write for FREE catalog.

Paramount

Ida Cox

NEW YORK RECORDING LABORATORIES
142 Paramount Bldg., Port Washington, Wis.



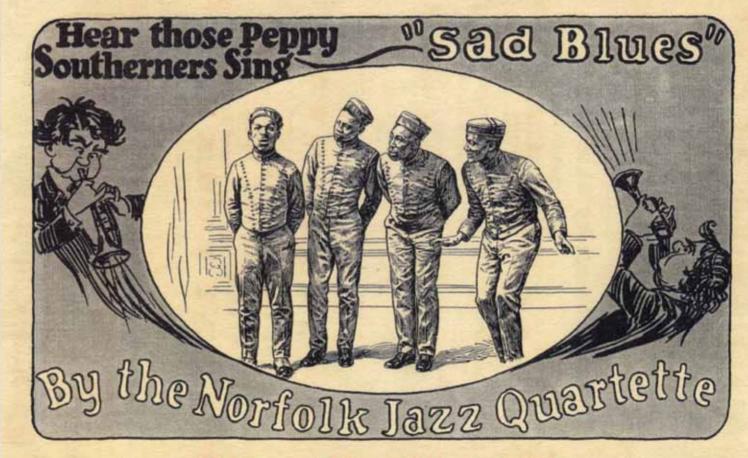
Chicago Defender ad, July 28, 1923. Ad in *Crisis* magazine,
December 1923

Now Ready!!! Another Blues by

Ida Cox

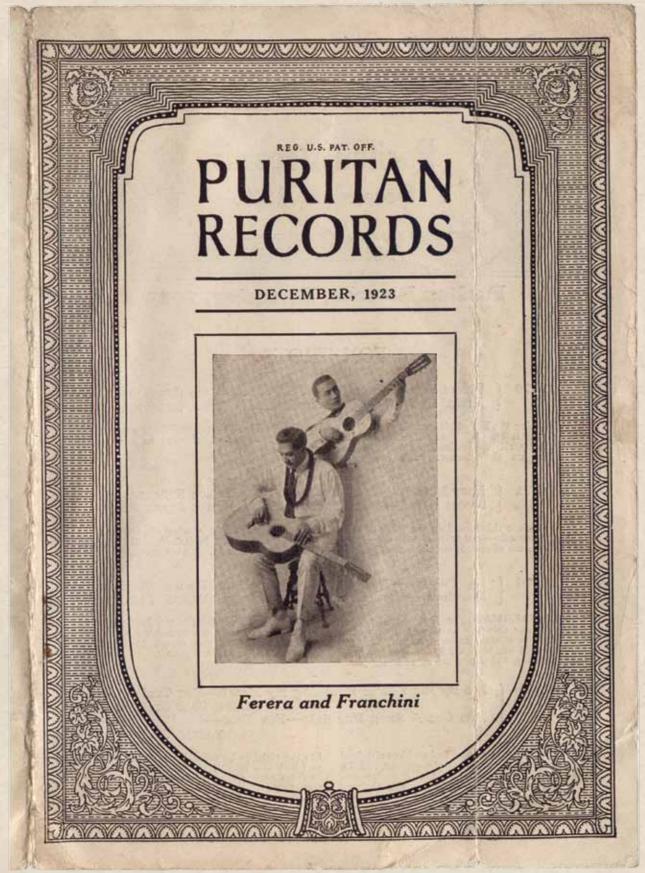
-the Uncrowned Queen of the Blues

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED BY F. W. BOERNER & COMPANY PORT WASHINGTON, WISCONSIN



Record Number 12054

Excerpt from Boerner mail order catalog featuring Paramount releases, September 1923. Excerpt from Boerner mail order catalog featuring Paramount releases, November 1923.



YOU can't help but break'em down when King Oliver and his Creole Jazz Band plays the Southern Stomps. It's the old Saturday night gathering.'round—the Chitterlings Rag—you know what we mean! On the other side of this record is "Dearborn Street Blues", also by King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band. It's an old-time slow drag Blues like "Down Hearted Blues". You'll like it! Ask for Paramount Red Record No. 12088. The World's Best Race Records 12064—Lawdy, Lawdy Blues and Moanin', Groanin' Blues, sung by Ida Cox. Acc. by Blues Serena with Tommy Ladiner and his Praying Cornet.

12066—Maybe Some Day and Miss Anna Brown, sung by Alberta Hunter. Piano and cornet acc.

12089—Cemetery Blues and Poor Me; these are both real Blues, sung by Edna Hicks, acc. by Porter Grainger's Sawin' Three.

12055—Dixie Blues and Quartette Blues, sung by Norfolk Jazz Quartette. These Sacred Records Should Be in Every Home 12035—Father, Prepare Me and My Lord's Gonna Move this Wicked Race, sung by Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. 12078—I Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray and Do You Think I'll Make a Soldier? Sung by Wiseman Sextette with orchestra. SEND NO MONEY! AGENTS WANTED! AGENTS WANTED:

Il Paramount Records to your friends and neighwhere we have no dealers. Earn big money—

Full or part time. Write for particulars.

Take the above list to your dealer. If he can't supply genuine Paramount Records, order direct from factory. Records sent to you, C.O.D., 75 cents each. We pay postage and insurance. THE NEW YORK RECORDING LABORATORIES
12 PARAMOUNT BLDG. PORT WASHINGTON, WISCONSIN (The Popular Race Record)

Puritan Records catalog cover, December 1923.

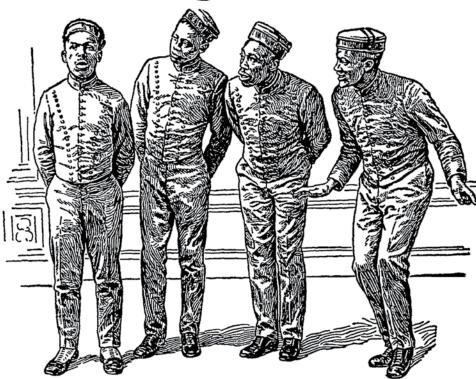
Chicago Defender ad,

June 28, 1924.



Norfolk Jazz Quartette

How those boys from the Sunny South do hand out



NOT Jelly Roll himself, but Jelly Roll's First Cousin—a song that was tailor-made for the golden voices of the Norfolk Jazz Quartette. Trick harmony—you said it! All the old bass and tenor tricks and a lot of new ones. Jelly Roll's First Cousin will be one of the year's best sellers for Paramount-dealers are already beginning to telegraph for more. On the other side is "Pleading Blues", another Norfolk Jazz Song. Paramount Number 12218.

These Blues and Spirituals are the Latest and Best

12218-Jelly Roll's First Cousin and Pleading Blues,

Norfolk Jazz Quartette.

12211—Freight Train Blues and Don't Shake It No More, Trixie Smith and Her Down Home

Syncopators.

12212—Blues Ain't Nothin' Else But and Last Time
Blues, Ida Cox. Acc. by Lovie Austin and
Her Blues Serenaders.

12213—Cool Kind Daddy Blues and Georgia Sam

Blues, Anna Lee Chisholm.

12214—Tell 'em Bout Me (When You Reach Tennessee) and You'll Need Me When I'm Long
Gone, Ethel Waters, famous Black Swan Star. get this surprisingly differ ent combination-2 great songs and a great singer picture. Same price.

12098—Lost Wondering Blues and Dream Blues— Inspiring Spirituals sensational, new souvening Record by Madame "Ma

12035-My Lord's Gonna Move This Wicked Race and Father, Prepare Me, Norfolk Jubilee Rainey. Her picture righ on the record. Be sure t

Quartette.

12073—When All the Saints Come Marching In and That Old Time Religion, Paramount Jubilee Singers.

12217—Ezekiel Saw De Wheel and Crying Holy Unto the Lord, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette.

12116—Jacob's Ladder and Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho, Herrod's Jubilee Singers.

Send No Money: If your dealer hasn't Paramount Records, order direct from us.

Just pay postman 75 cents each, plus 10 cents C.O.D. charge.

We pay postage and insurance. Send no money. Just give numbers of records you want and name and address. We send, free, our new Paramount Black Swan "Book of the Blues".

The New York Recording Laboratories

The Popular Race Record

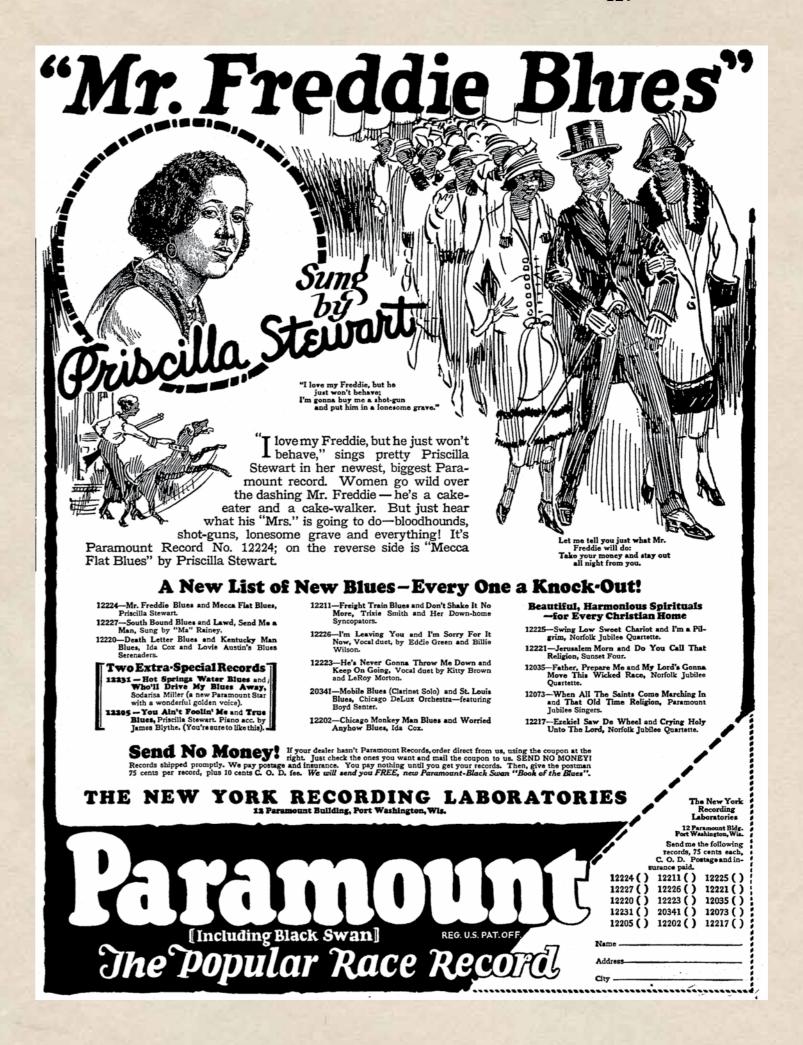
Send me, the following records cents each, C. O. D. 12218 () 12214 () 12035 (12211 () 12215 () 12073 (

Defender ad August 16.

Chicago Defender ad,

October 11,









 $\mathbf{H}^{\text{ERE's}}$ the record you've been waiting for! Two sensational by the world-famous Blues Serenaders, including:

Lovie Austin-Piano Blues Artist Supreme.

Jimmie O'Bryant-Race's foremost Blues Clarinet Jazzer, and the big feature-

Tommy Ladiner-and his Talking Blues Cornet, known from coast to coast!

Friends, it's hot-yes sir, sizzling hot! You never heard such Blues Harmony. Loud and clear—they just moan and whine "Stepping on the Blues" and then turn the record over for "Traveling Blues". By far the most sensational Blues instrumental ever played. Get Paramount No. 12255—at every Paramount dealer's. Or send us the coupon, if there's no dealer near you.

12255—Stepping on the Blues and Traveling Blues,
Lovie Austin and Her Blues Serenaders.

12246—Red Hot Mama and Drunk Man's Strut,
Jimmie O'Bryant and His Washboard
Blues, Ida Cox and Her Five Blues Spells.

20364—Big Fat Mama Blues and Gin Hour's

12248—Black Hand Blues and Ske-Da-De, Memphis Julia Davis. 12252—Jealous Hearted Blues and See See Rider Blues, "Ma" Rainey and Her Georgia Jazz Band.

20364—Big Fat Mama Blues and Gin Hound Blues, Clarinet solos by Boyd Senter.

12254—Low Down Painful Blues and Sugar Daddy Blues, Lottie Beaman, piano acc. by Jimmie Blythe.

Inspiring Spirituals

12035—Father Prepare Me and My Lord's Gonna
Move this Wicked Race, Norfolk Jubilee
Quartette.

12073—When All The Saints Come Marching In
and That Old-Time Religion, Paramount
Jubilee Singers.

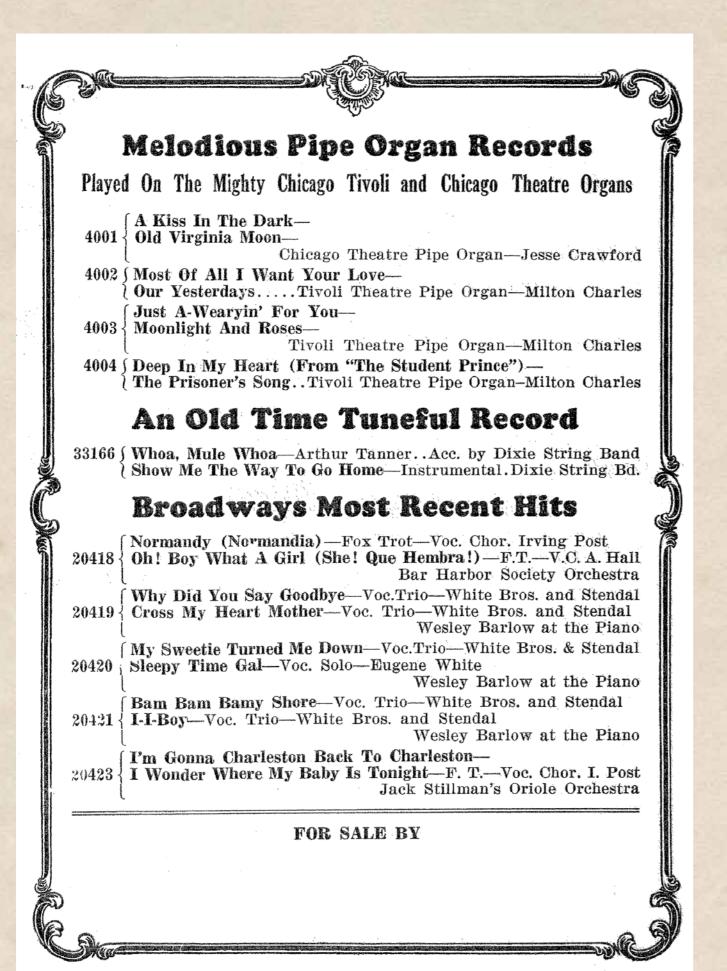
12234—Where Shall I Be and I'm Gonna Build Right
On Dat Shore, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette.

Send No Money! If your dealer hasn't the Paramount records you want, check them in the coupon below and mail to us. Pay postman when he brings records to your door, 75 cents each, plus 10-cent C. O. D. fee. We pay postage and insurance.

THE NEW YORK RECORDING LABORATORIES
11 PARAMOUNT BUILDING PORT WASHINGTON, WIS.

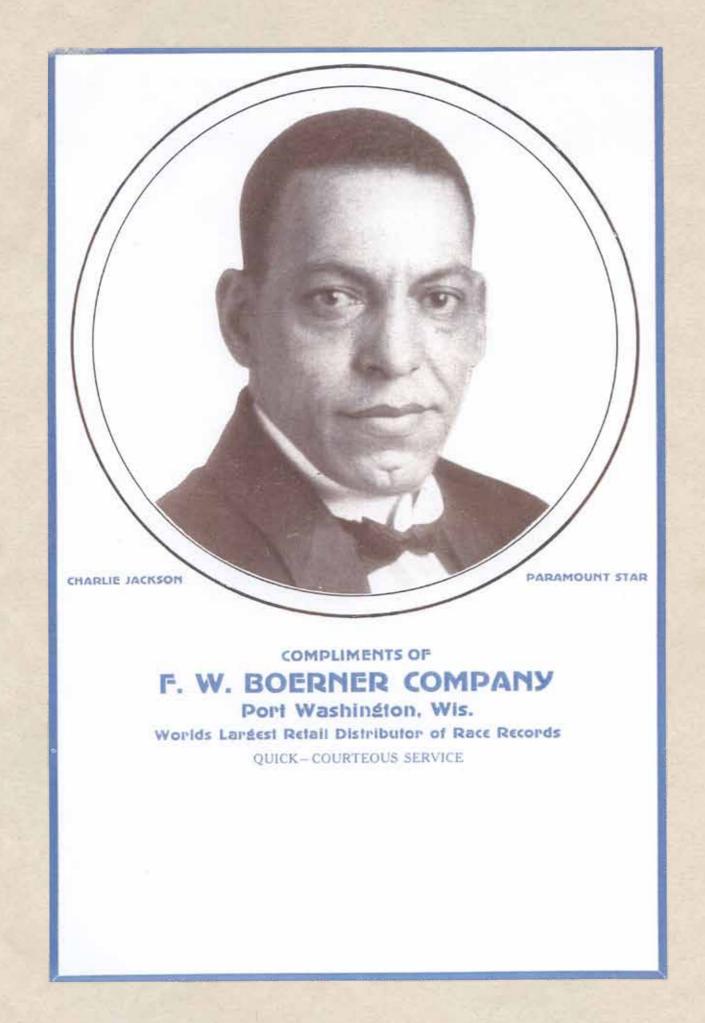


The New York Recording Laboratories, 12 Paramount Bldg., Port Washington, Wis.								
Send me the records checked at right, 12253 () 75 cents each, C. O. D., postage paid. 12251 ()	12248 () 12246 () 12252 () 20364 ()	12254 () 12217 () 12035 () 12073 ()	12234()					
Name								
AddressCity								





Front (near left) and back (far left) cover of Paramount Records catalog, November 1925.



Front cover of Boerner mail order catalog featuring Paramount releases, 1925.



JACK PENEWELL and his

"TWIN-SIX GUITAR" (Hawaiian Harp-Guitar)

This popular radio artist records exclusively on AUTOGRAPH records. This instrument, the invention of Mr. Penewell, is the only one of its kind. Tune him in on your phonograph with an AUTOGRAPH record and forget about static.

10 inch-75c

615 HONEST and TRULY I'LL SEE YOU in MY DREAMS

608 HEN HOUSE BLUES PENEWELL BLUES

609 MARCHETA That Tumbled Down Shack in Athlone

MEMPHIS BLUES OLD BLACK JOE

MISCELLANEOUS

10 inch-75c

BROADCASTING MAMA TRAMP, TRAMP, TRAMP

Vocal Duet - Loos Brothers

610 I Dont Know Why I Weep-Fox Trot ANGRY-Fox Trot

Friars Inn Orchestra

Autograph Records ||||||||||||

catalog of Paramount recording engineer Orlando Marsh's own label, Autograph Records, ca. 1925.

Page from





Something Special!

12301 — Somebody's Always Talking About Me and Sit Down, Sit Down, I Can't Sit Down - a wonderful new spiritual by the famous

Norfolk Jubilee Quartette

You All Know "Preacher White"

HOUSANDS of you know and love Chicago's noted pastor, Reverend William Arthur White. Ever since the old days when he was the "boy evangelist", he has been "Preacher White" throughout the Middle West and South. Now, in his great Paramount Record No. 12302, he solves the question of evolution - the great religious topic that so stirred the country just a few weeks ago. Be sure to get this record - you'll never grow tired of it.

> 12302-Divine Relationship of Man to God and Prayer, Rev. W. A. White.

12292-You Must Have True Religion and Walk In Jerusalem Just Like John, Sunset

Four Jubilee Quartette.

12285—Oh Lord What a Morning and Hand Me Down The Silver Trumpet, Sunset Jubilee Quartette.

12274—Twenty Third Psalm and Lord's Prayer, Rev. Cooke with J. Wesley Jones and Community Choristers and Lift Up Your Heads, Prof. J. Wesley Jones and Community

12234-Where Shall I Be and I'm Gonna Build Right On Dat Shore, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. 12035-Father Propare Me and My Lord's Gonna Move This Wicked Race, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette.

12073-When All The Saints Come Marching In and That Old Time Religion, Paramount

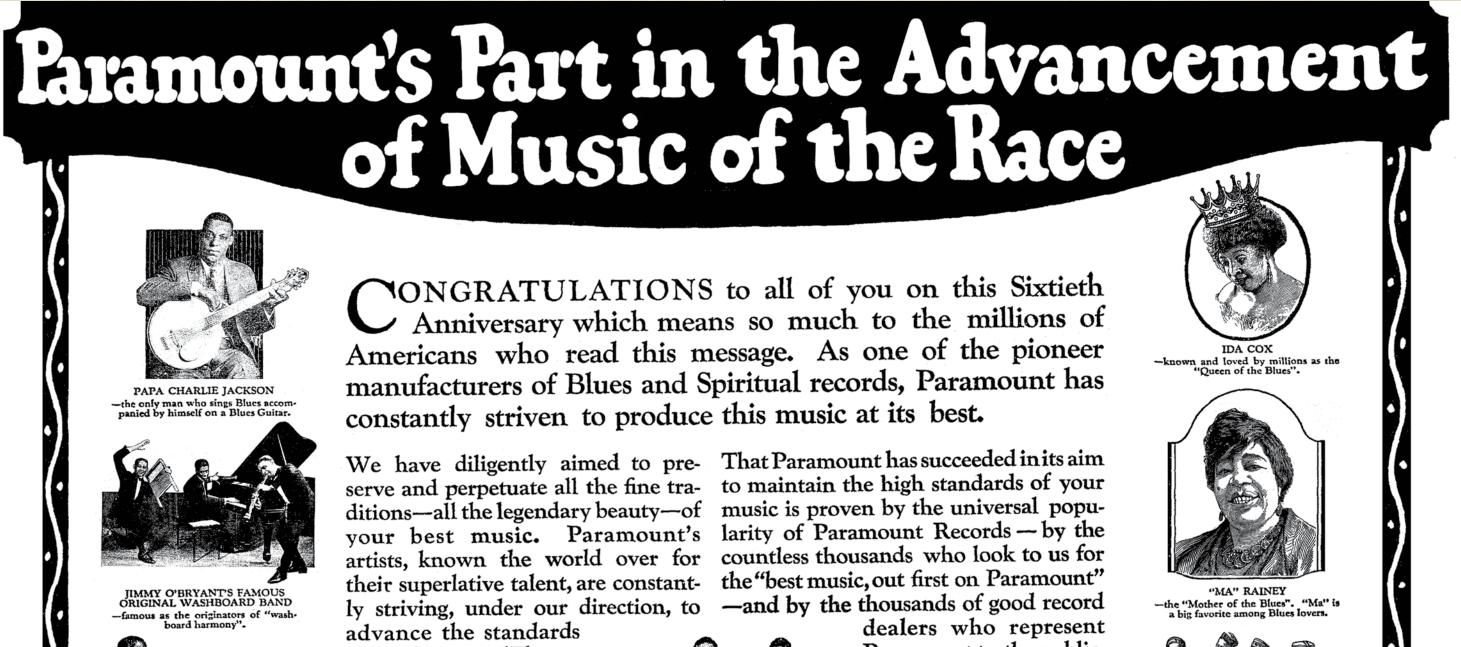
Send No Money If your nearest dealer hasn't this Paramount record, check No. 12302 on the coupon below. Send no money! Pay the postman 75 cents for each record plus small C. O. D. fee, when he delivers them. We pay postage and insurance on orders for more than one record.

	The New York Recording Laboratories 12 Paramount Bidg., Port Washington, Wis.							
			.75 cents each, C.O.D.					
I	12302 [] 12292 [] 12285 []	12274 [] 12234 [] 12035 []	12301 }					
ŀ	Name		***************************************					

Cover of Paramount Records catalog. ca. 1925.

Chicago Defender ad, September 26.





of good music. (The artists illustrated herewith are only a few of the exclusive singers and musicians who make Paramount Records).

Paramount to the public. Your local dealer has the latest Paramount Records. Or, write us for complete catalog.

The New York Recording Laboratories 12 Paramount Bldg., Port Washington, Wis.

Defender ad celebrating the 60th of the 13th Amendmen abolishing slavery; October 10,



VOU'LL be hypnotized by the harmony of Jimmy's Washboard Band. The way they'll make the thrills run up and down your spine will keep you playing these popular novelty Paramount records.

12246-Drunk Man's Strut and Red Hot Mama, Jimmy O'Bryant's Washboard Band. Hear the mad, wicked

12265-Washboard and Brand New Charleston, Jimmy O'Bryant's Washboard Band. Three Red-Hot Papa Charlie **Jackson Records**

12264—Shave 'em Dry and Coffee Pot Blues.
12259—The Cat's Got the Measles and I've Got What It
Takes But It Breaks My Heart to Give It Away. 12236—Salt Lake City Blues and Salty Dog Blues.

12257-Cell Bound Blues and Ya Da Do, "Ma" Rainey and Her Georgia Jazz Band.

12263—Those Married Man Blues and Georgia Hound Blues, Ida Cox. 12272-Crying Won't Make Him Stay and Rock Aunt Dinah Rock, Vocal

Duet, "Coot" Grant and "Kid" Wesley Wilson. 12262-Railroad Blues and The World's Jazz Crazy and So Am I, Trixie

12261-Confession Blues and Broadway Daddy Blues, Sodarisa Miller. 12234-Where Shall I Be and I'm Gonna Build Right On Dat Shore, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette.

12266-What You Going To Do When The World's On Fire and When I Was a Moaner, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette

12073—When All The Saints Come Marching In and That Old-Time Religion, Paramount Jubilee Singers.

THE NEW YORK RECORDING LABORATORIES
12 PARAMOUNT BUILDING. PORT WASHINGTON, WIS.

Go to your dealer for any of these records, 75 cents each. If there is no dealer near you, send us the coupon with 75 cents for each record you want. We

Send me the record ecked below, 75 cent

The Popular Race Records

THESE famous vaudeville headliners, who have won the applause of thousands in the leading theatres of Chicago and many other cities, have decided that they can entertain additional thousands on records. Of course, they chose Paramount-exclusively. Here's their first one-get it today at your dealer's, or send us the coupon. 12319-Sweet Georgia Brown and Loud Speaking Papa, vocal duet with ukelele acc., Danny Small and Ukelele Mays.,

> 12311-Rough and Tumble Blues and Memphis Bound Blues, "Ma" Rainey Fever, Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Origiand Her Georgia Jazz Band.

12307-Long Distance Blues and Lonesome Blues, Ida Cox. acc. by Lovie Austin and Her Blues Serenaders.

12305-Hot Papa Blues, & Mama, Don't You Think I Know "Papa Charlie" Jackson.

12313-Craving Blues, Ethel Waters, acc. by Lovie Austin and Her Serenaders and Too Sweet for Words (for dancing), Lovie Austin's Serenaders.

12322-Go Back Where You Stayed Last Night and Tennessee Blues, Viola Bart-lette, acc. by Lovie Austin and Serenaders.

Instrumentals

12321-Milenberg Joys and Sugar Babe, Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Original Washboard Band.

Fever, Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Origi-nal Washboard Band.

12279-Homeward Bound Blues and Old Steady Roll, Jones Paramount

Spirituals

12314-You Must Come In At The Door and When I Come Out of the Wilderness, Sunset Four Jubilee Quartette. 12234-Where Shall I Be and I'm Gonna Build Right On Dat Shore, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette.

12073-When All The Saints Come Marching In and That Old Time Religion, Paramount Jubilee Singers.

Send No Money! If your dealer hasn't the want, check the numbers on the coupon and mail to us. Pay postman 75 cents each, plus small C.O.D. . We pay postage and insura

Pa				
	REG. U.S. PAT. O	PEE.		Nam

You Can't Go Wrong on These!

12317-Come On, Coot, Do That Thing and Have Your Chill, I'll Be Here When Your

Fever Rises, "Coot" Grant and "Kid" Wesley Wilson with Fletcher Henderson's Orchestra.

12318-Coffin Blues and Rambling Blues,

Ida Cox, Organ and Cornet acc.

The Popular Race Records

Chicago Defender ad, November 28

Defender ad,



VOU all know Jimmy O'Bryant and his original band that made the Washboard famous! Now, they have a brand new red-hot record, with a cigar box doing the heavy stuff and oodles of syncopated jazz harmony in both selections. There's a wonderful piano part in "My Man Rocks Me" which alone is worth the price of the record. Ask your dealer for Paramount No. 12339-or send us the coupon.

- 12339-My Man Rocks Me and Chicago Skiffle (for dancing) Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Original Band.
- 12329—Thirty-Eight and Two[It Must Be Forty] (for dancing) and Please Don't Break 'em Down, Jimmy O'Bryant's Washboard Band.
- 12337-When Your Man Is Going to Put You Down [You Never Can Tell] "Coot" Grant, with piano and cornet acc. and Find Me At The Greasy Spoon [If You Miss Me Here], Vocal Duet by "Coot" Grant and "Kid" Wesley Wilson, with Fletcher Henderson's Orchestra.
- 12332-Slave To The Blues and Oh My Babe Blues, "Ma" Rainey and Her Georgia Band.
- 12336-He Likes It Slow and Black Bottom Hop, Trixie Smith, acc. by Fletcher Henderson's Orchestra.
- 12338 Chain Gang Blues and Wringing and Twisting Blues a knockout by "Ma" Rainey and Her Georgia Jazz Band.
- 12335-I'm Going Where The Chilly Winds Don't Blow and Texas Blues, Papa Charlie Jackson.
- 12281- The Faking Blues and Shake That Thing, Papa Charlie Jackson and His Blues Banjo.
- 12312-Everybody Pile (for dancing) and Charleston Fever, Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Washboard Band.



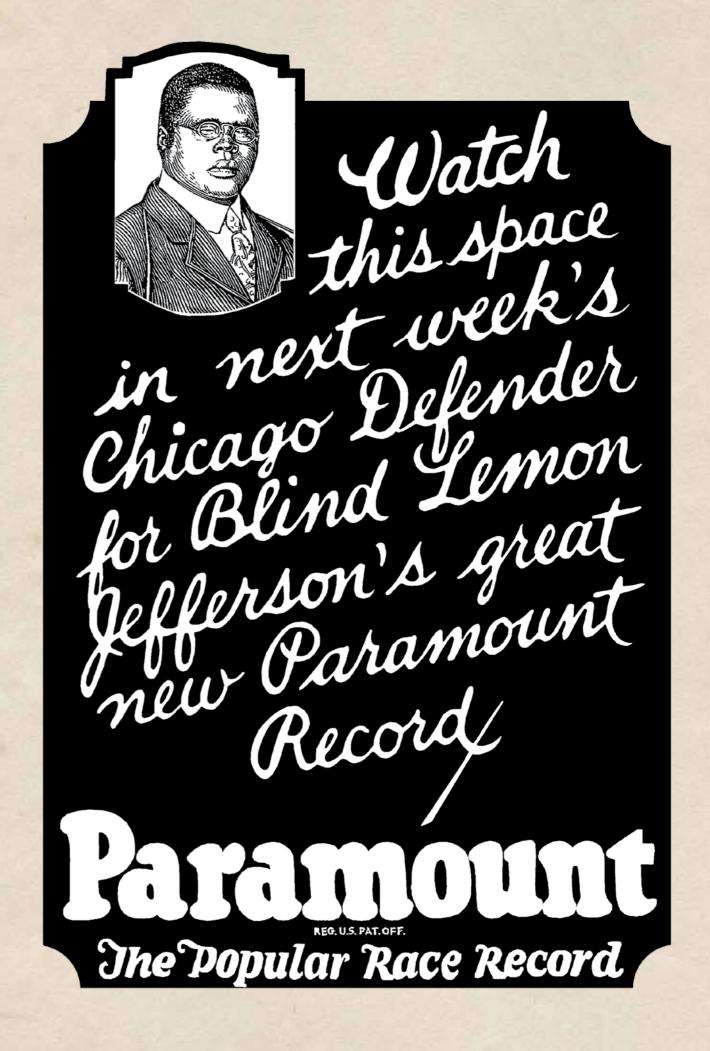
- 12340-Seek and Ye Shall Find and You Must Be Converted, Wood's Famous Blind Jubiled
- 12341-OhLord, Have Mercy and The Lord's Pray-
- 12217-Ezeklel Saw Be Wheel and Crying Holy

Send No Money!

If your dealer is ont of the records you want. send us the couron below. Pay postman 75¢ for each record plus small C.O.D. fee when he delivers records. We pay postage on ship-ments of two or more

The Popular Race Record







Cover of Paramount Records catalog. April 1926.

Paramount Records

THIS SUPPLEMENT GIVES YOU SOME OF THE MOST POPULAR RECORDS THAT HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY RELEASED.



12352—Mountain Jack Blues—Piano Acc. James Blythe Seeking Blues

Ma Rainey and Her Georgia Band
12348—I'm Tired Of Fooling AroundWith You
Jackson's Blues. Papa Charlie Jackson



Trixie Smith with Fletcher Henderson's Orch. Trixie Smith with Fletcher Henderson's Orch.

12329—Thirty Eight And Two (It Must Be Forty)—For Dancing
Please Don't Break 'Em Down

Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Original Washboard Band

Jimmy O'Bryant's Famous Original Washboard Band
12322—Outside Of That He's All Right With Me
You Gotta Know How
Ozie McPherson with Lovie Austin's Serenaders
12325—How Long Daddy How Long—Blues Solo-Banjo Acc.-C. Jackson
One Time Woman Blues. . I. Cox—Acc. by L. Austin's Serenaders

12324—You Dirty Mistreater—Duet—Orch. Acc.

"Coot" Grant and "Kid" Wilson with Fletcher Henderson's Orch.

Speak Now Or Hereafter Hold Your Peace—Cornet and Plano Acc.

12322—Go Back Where You Stayed Last
Night—Voc. Blues
Tennessee Blues.....Viola Bartlette
Acc. by Lovie Austin's Serenaders
12320—All I Want Is A Spoonful
Maxwell Street Blues
Voc. Solo—Banjo Acc.—C. Jackson
12318—Coffin Blues—Acc. Organ and Cornet
Rambling Blues—Acc. Organ & Cornet
Ida Cox
12317—Come On Coot Do That Thing—

Ida Cox

12317—Come On Coot Do That Thing—

Voc. Duet. Coot Grant & Kid Wilson

Have Your Chill I'll Be Here When

Your Fever Rises.... Wilson with

Fletcher Henderson's Orch.

12313—Craving Blues..... Ethel Waters

Too Sweet For Words—For Dancing

Lovia Austin's Sorgadors

12289—Pm Alabamy Bound. Papa Charlie Jackson Drop That Sack.... Papa Charlie Jackson 12280—Priscilla Blues—Piano Acc.-J. O'Bryant I Was Born A Brownskin And You Can't Make Me Blue...... Priscilla Stewart

12284—Army Camp Harmony Blues...Ma Rainey
Explaining The Blues..and Her Georgia Bd.
12283—Mojo Blues..L. Austin and Her Serenaders
Heebie Jeebies...L. Austin and Serenaders

12253—The Woman Ain't Born—Piano Acc.
Tall Brown Blues—Piano & Clar. Acc.
Priscilla Stewart

12252 Jealous Hearted Blues See See Rider Blues Ma Rainey and Her Georgia Band

12251 Graveyard Bound Blues
Mississippi River Blues
Ida Cox and Her Five Blue Spells

12250—New Orleans Goofer Dust Blues
The Stomps......Thelma LaVizzo
12249—Everybody Loves My Baby..T. Smith
How Come You Do Me Like You Do

How Come You Do Me Like You Do

12248—Black Hand Blues—Acc. Lovie Austin and Her Blues Serenaders
Skee Da De—Acc. L. Austin and Her Blues Serenaders. J. Davis

12246—Red Hot Mama.... Jimmy O'Bryant and His Washboard Trio
Drunk Man's Strut.. Jimmy O'Bryant and His Washboard Trio
12238—Countin' The Blues... Ma Rainey—Acc. by Her Georgia Band
Jelly Bean Blues... Ma Rainey—Acc. by Her Georgia Band
Jelly Bean Blues... Ma Rainey—Acc. by Her Georgia Band
12236—Salt Lake City Blues... Charlie Jackson
Salty Dog Blues... Charlie Jackson

12228—Cherry Picking Blues—Acc. Lovie Austin's Serenaders. Ida Cox
Wild Women Don't Have Any Blues—Acc. L. Austin's Serenaders

12261—Confession Blues—Piano Acc.—James Blythe... Sodarissa Miller
Broadway Daddy Blues—Piano Acc.—J. Blythe.. Sodarissa Miller

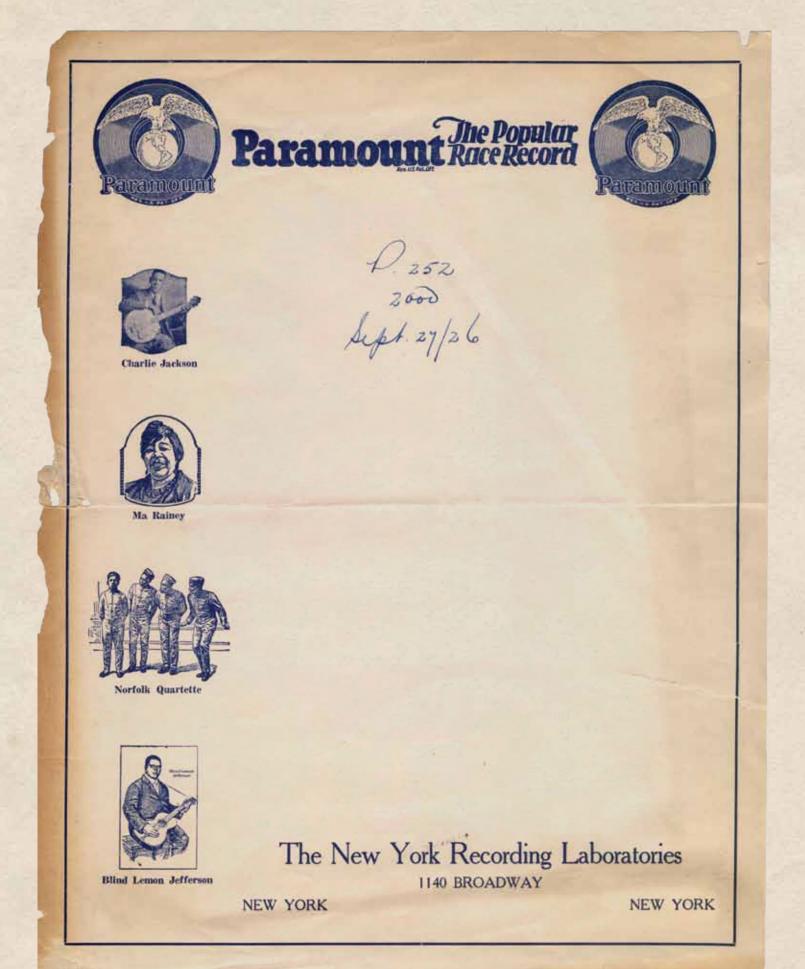
BEST SPIRITUALS 12342—Pharach's Army Got Drowned......Norfolk Jubilee Quartette

Great Schovan
12315-This Train Is Bound For Glory. Wood's Famous Blind Jub. Singers
Lord I'm Troubled
12314—You Must Come In At The Door Sunset Four Jubilee Singers
When I Come Out Of The Wilderness Sunset Four Jub. Singers
12221—Jerusalem MornSunset Four
Do You Call That ReligionSunset Four
12073—When All The Saints Come Marching In Paramount Jub. Singers
That Old Time ReligionParamount Jub. Singers
12035—Father Prepare MeNorfolk Jub. Qt.
My Lord's Gonna Move This Wicked Race Norfolk Jub Ot
12285—Oh Lord What A MorningSunset Jubilee Quartette
Hand Me Down The Silver TrumpetSunset Jubilee Quartette
12331—Tell Me Where Are You Building. The C. A. Tindley Bible Class
When The Gates Swing WideGospel Singers
12217—Ezekiel Saw De WheelNorfolk Jubilee Quartette
Crying Holy Unto The LordNorfolk Jubilee Quartette
12234—Where Shall I BeNorfolk Jubilee Quartette
I'm Gonna Build Right On Dat Shore Norfolk Jubilee Quartette
12092—His Eye Is On The Sparrow—Piano Acc Madame Lawrence
Stand By Me—Piano Acc
12302—Divine Relationship Of Man To GodRev. W. A. White
Prayer
Lagor W. A. White

Supplement to Paramoun Records catalog. April 1926.









ance Selections With Vocal Choruses

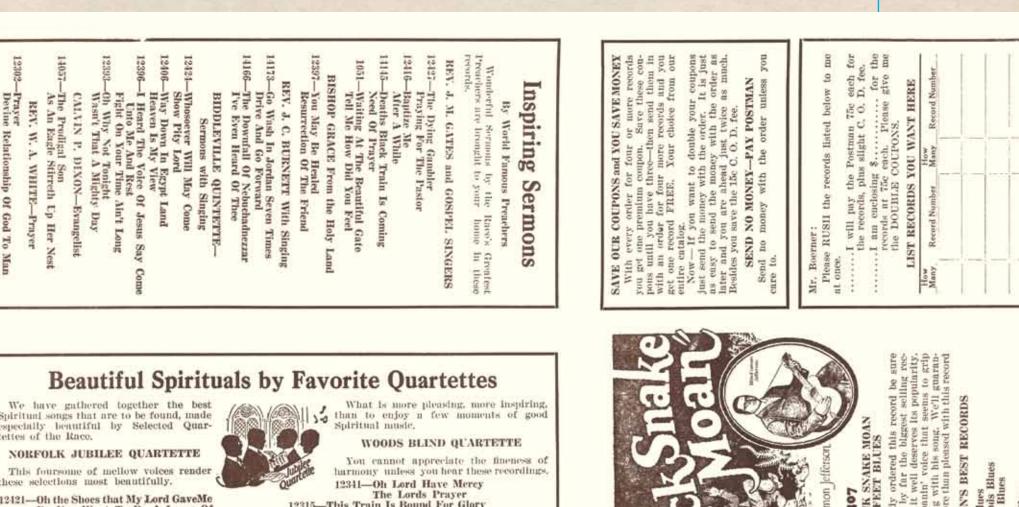
1033	Ting A Ling (The Waltz of the Bells)—Waltz Hollywood Dance Orchestra
1032	I'd Love To Call You My Sweetheart—Fox Trot, V. C., C. Vaughn Hollywood Dance Orchestra For My Sweetheart—Fox Trot, Vocal Chorus C. Vaughn Sam Lanin's Orchestra
1031	I Wish You Were Jealous of Me Waltz, Voc. Chor. Hugh Donovan Sleepy Head Waltz, Voc. Chorus Hugh Donovan Adrian Schubert's Salon Orchestra
1030	In A Little Garden (You Made Paradise)—Fox Trot, V. C., D. Pierce Me Too Ho-Ho! Ha-Ha!—Fox Trot, Voc. Chorus A. Fields Sam Lanin and His Orchestra
1029	Who Wouldn't—Fox Trot, Vocal Chorus Billy Jones Imperial Dance Orchestra And Then I Forget—Fox Trot, Vocal Chorus A. Fields Sam Lanin and His Orchestra
1028	Cherie, I Love You—Waltz, Vocal Chorus Irving Kaufman Newport Society Orchestra Pm Walking Around In Circles—Fox Trot, V.FC. Irving Kaufman Sam Lanin and His Orchestra
1027	Baby Face—Tox Trot, Vocal Chorus How Many Times—Fox Trot, V. C. The Yankee Ten Orchestra
1026	I'm Looking At The World Through Rose Colored Glasses—Oh If I Only Had You—Fox Trot, Vocal Chorus Irving Kaufman Imperial Dance Orchestra
1024	Barcelona—Fox Trot, Vocal Chorus Billy Jones Roses Remind Me Of You—Fox Trot, Vocal Chorus W. Jones Hollywood Dance Orchestra

Hen House Blues—Twin Six Guitar Memphis Blues—Twin Six Guitar	Hello Aloha—Twin Six Guitar Last Night I Was Dreaming Of You	
1025 Hen H Memp	8018 Hello	

Jack Penewell Jack Penewell Jack Penewell

> Window display featuring releases on Paramount's sister company Broadway Records, October 1926.

Letterhead used for Paramount's New York operations, September 1926.



12422—Fat Mouth Blues and Gay Cat-tin', Papa Charlie Jackson.

So sings "Papa Charlie"—broken hearted and sad—when the fat mouth walks off with his brown. Hard luck, Charlie, but

it's a wonderful Blues you've sung. Ask your dealer for "Fat

Mouth Blues", Paramount No. 12422, or send us the coupon.

"She's a long, tall woman with coal black curly hair, One gold tooth and you'll know her everywhere,

She used to be mine, but a fat mouth's got her now."

12419—Little Low Mama Blues and Grievin' Hearted Blues, "Ma" Rainey.

12412—Leve Me, Mr. Strange Man and Effervereent Daddy, Eloise Bennett.

The Popular Race Record

Favorite Spirituals

12416-After A While and Baptize

12417—Sawmill Blues and Barrel
House Man, Elzadie Robinson;
Piano acc. by Will Ezell.

12396—I Heard The Voice of Jesus and Fight On, Your Time Ain't Long, Biddleville Quintette.

Piano acc. by will accent

12491—Cotton Field Blues and Red
River Blues, Dad Nelson and
His Guitar.

12495—Way Dewn In Egypt Land
and Heaven Is My View, Biddleville Quintette.

12410—Bird Nest Bines and Don't
Fall On Me Bones, Ardelle
"Shelly" Bragg.

12635—Father, Prepare Me, and
My Lord's Conna Move This
Wicked Race, Norfolk Jubilee

POSTMASTER—Return postage guaranteed. F. W. Boerner Co., Port Washington, Wis.

REV. S. J. WORELL

An astounding new and powerful sermon by a great Preacher, Rev. S. J. Worell (Steambout Bill)

1067—Christ Healing the Blind Noah Building the Ark

Acc. by the McBride sister

12421—Oh the Shoes that My Lord GaveMe Do You Want To Be A Lover Of The Lord

12035—My Lord's Gonna Move This Wicked Race Father Prepare Me

2217—Ezekiel Saw De Wheel Crying Holy Unto The Lord

2266-What You Gonna Do When The World's On Fire When I Was A Moaner

The Lords Prayer 12315—This Train Is Bound For Glory Lord I'm Through

PARAMOUNT JUBILEE SINGERS 12073—When All The Saints Come Marching In That Old Time Religion

GRACE OULAW AND JUBILEE SINGERS

12414—Pve Got A Home In That Rock In Some Lonesome Graveyard



Sacred Selections

mail order record page, inside,

F.W. Boerner

bulletin, offering labels, January 3, 1927. next page.)

releases on Paramount and other (Outside, this

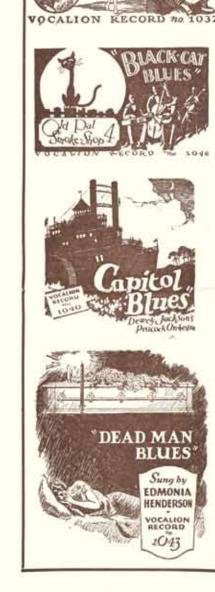
Chicago Defender ad, January 22,

TRIM HERE

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F. W. Boerner Co. New Year Record Bulletin

"PAPA" CHARLIE JACKSON

Your old friend Charlie is with us again with Muse. Ma Rainey is anxious that you all hear a brand new record you're sure to like,

Texas Blues

12281—Shake That Thing Faking Blues Charlie Jackson

IDA COX-Blues Queen

Here are two of Ida's favorite songs-Hear them 12423-Some Scream High Hellow-Vocal 12325-How Long Daddy How Long One Time Woman Blues 12353—Do Lawd Do

Night And Day Blues

DAD NELSON and His Guitar

Old Dad Nelson is a wonder with the guitar s his first two records listed below show. You should include at least one of them with your

12430—Coon Can Blues—Vocal with Guitar Mississippi Strutt—Vocal with Guitar 12401—Red River Blues—Vocal with Guitar Cottonfield Blues

ARDELL BRAGG-A New Star Ardell's record of Pig Meat Blues made her

a Star. Her newest record is equally as good. 12429-What Makes You Treat Me This Way That's All Right—Orch. Acc. 12398—Pig Meat Blues—Vocal Blues

Canebrake Blues-Piano Acc. VICTORIA SPIVEY

Victoria Spivey is today perhaps the most popular of Blues singers-Her mounin' voice

8410-It's Evil Hearted Me-Vocal

Santa Fe Blues—Piano Acc. 8401—Big Houston Blues Got The Blues So Bad

8338-Black Snake Blues No More Jelly Bean Blues

8370—Spider Web Blues

Hoo Doo Man Blues—Piano Acc.
8389—Blue Valley Blues—Piano Acc. Humored And Petted Blues

LEOLA B, WILSON-New Star

Leola B, is another Blues singer who has recently been added to our list of stars.-Her 12426-State St. Man

Wilson Dam 12392—Ashley Street Blues—Guitar Acc. Dying Blues—by Blind Blake

JAZZ BABY MOORE & CO. Here is a comedy record you will enjoy.

1045-Pistol Paul's Sermon Morning Prayer-Comedy

She's proud of it. So are we. 12419-LITTLE LOW MAMA BLUES 12422—Fat Month Played and sung by GRIEVIN' HEARTED BLUES Gay Gattin' Charlie Jackson
12383—Bad Luck Woman Blues C. Jackson
Your Baby Ain't Sweet Like Mine GRIEVIN' HEARTED B
12395—Down In The Basement
Trust No Man

12335—I'm Going Where The Chilly Winds 12338—Chain Gang Blues
Don't Blow Wringing And Twisting Blues

Levee Camp Blues

BO WEAVIL JACKSON Bo Wenvil sings Some Scream High Yellow as if he really meant it-It's great.

Why Do You Mean-with Guitar 12389-You Can't Keep No Brown Pistol Blues SARA MARTIN'S BLUES

Sara's records speak for themselves, 8412-Shipwrecked Blues-Piano Acc. Numbers On The Brain 8394—Look Out Mr Jazz—Piana Acc.

A Glass Of Beer A Hot Dog And You CLARA SMITH

Clara Smith knows her onlons but it isn't onlons she sings about in her latest record. 14160-Ain't Nothin' Cookin'What Your Smellin' Separation Blues 14159—Whip It To A Jelly

SNAPPY INSTRUMENTALS For Dancing

How'm I Dain'

12428-Ape Man Blues Your Folks Ra
12433—Shake That Thing
Hula Mama Blues S
12409—It Must Be The Blues Serenaders Stomp Time Blues Taylor's Boys 12400—It's Tight Jim Preston Jackson's Harmony Blues Jazz Band 12405—Tiger Rag Dixon's Jazz Manines

D A D Blues Dixon's Jazz Manlacs 12380—Chicago Mess Around L. Austin's Galion Stomps Serenaders 12359—Don't Forget to do the Mess Around Lots O' Mama The Hottentot 1007—Snag It—Fox Trot—King Oliver's

Too Bad Dixie Syncopator 1010 Sweet Mumtaz-F. T. 29th and Dearborn Russel's Hot Six

20341 Saint Louis Blues Mobile Blues Clar. Sol.-B. Senter 12361

Jackass Blues Freg Tongue Stomp Austin's Serenaders 12216 Red Hot Mama-F.T. Drunk Man's Strutt

BESSIE SMITH-Blues Favorite

For years Bessle Smith has been the Blues Favorite of the Race and still is, Hear her latest Blues,

11179-Young Womans Blues

Hard Time Blues-Piano Acc. 14172-Honey Man Blues-Plano Acc.

14158—Gin House Blues Lost Your Head Blues

14137—Money Blues Hard Drivin' Papa 14109—New Gulf Coast Blues Florida Bound Blues

14129—I Want Every Bit Of It What's The Matter Now

BLIND BLAKE

Blind Blake is a master of the Gultar and with his morning voice makes three popular

Too Tight—Vocal with Guitar 12413—Skeedle Loo Doo Blues

Come On Boys Let's do the Mess Around 12387—Early Morning Blues

ELZADIE ROBINSON-New Blues

Elzadie Robinson is a new Blues singer and oh how she does monn those Sawmill Blues.

12417-Sawmill Blues-Plano Acc. Barrel House Man 12420—Houston Bound

Humming Blues

BUTTERBEANS AND SUSIE This famous pair of comedians are scrapping again but they sure are great entertainers. 8399-Papa Don't Hold Back On Me-Voc. Duet

Sweet Papa Butterbeans and Sweet Mama Susie 8392-My Daddy's Got The Mojo But I Got

The Say So
Da Da Blues—Vocal Duet—Piano Acc.
8303—Let the Door Knob Hit You In the Back Your Folks Will Start Wearing Black

ETHEL WATERS BLUES Ethel is accompanied by her Singing Orches-

ra in her latest record with a marvelous effec

14170—I'm Coming Virginia He Brought Joy To My Soul 14153—Heebee Jeebies Blues Everybody Mess Around—Jazz Bd. Acc

LONNIE JOHNSON-Blues Wizard Lonnie Johnson sings Five O'clock Blues like

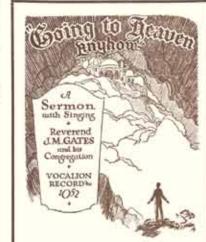
8417-Five O'Clock Blues-Vocal Johnson's Trio Stomp

8111—I Have No Sweet Woman Now Lonnie's Got The Blues

8391-Oh Doctor The Blues I'm Gonna Dodge The Blues Just Watch

8309—Lonesome Jail Blues When I Was Lovin' Changed My Mind

Port Washington, Wisconsin















SEND TODAY FOR THESE Wonderful Records

You'll be delighted with the harmony of the C. A. Tindley Bible Class Gospel Singers (shown above). Paramount Record No. 1238 is one of their best—"YES HE DID" and "STOP, LOOK, LISTEN". These famous singers are but one of the many Paramount groups of artists who are rendering for you the best in spiritual and classical music. Get your favorites of these records today, from your dealer—or send us the coupon from the bottom of this page.

12388-Yes He Did and Stop, Look, Listen by C. A. Tindley Bible Class Singers.

12390—When the Saints Come Marching Home (Jubilee) and I'm On My Way to Kingdom Land, BoWeavil Jackson.

12371—See the Sign of Judgment and Revival Days, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette.

12315—This Train Is Bound for Glory and Lord, I'm Troubled, Wood's Famous Blind Jubilee

12342—Pharaoh's Army Got Drowned and Great Jehovah, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette.

12073-When All the Saints Come Marching In and That Old Time Religion, Paramount Jubilee

12035-Father, Prepare Me and My Lord's Gonna Move This Wicked Race, Norfolk Jubilee Quar-

12217—Ezekiel Saw De Wheel and Crying Holy Unto the Lord, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. 12076-Lord, I Can't Stay Away and On Calvary. Wiseman Sextette with Orchestra.

12234—Where Shall I Be and I'm Gonna Build Right On Dat Shore, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. 12285-Oh Lord, What a Morning and Hand Me Down the Silver Trumpet, Sunset Jubilee Quar-

Send No Money!

If your dealer is out of the records you want, send us the coupon below. Pay postman 75 cents for each record plus small C. O. D. fee when he delivers records. We pay postage an shipments of two or more records.

THE NEW YORK RECORDING LABORATORIES PORT WASHINGTON, WIS.



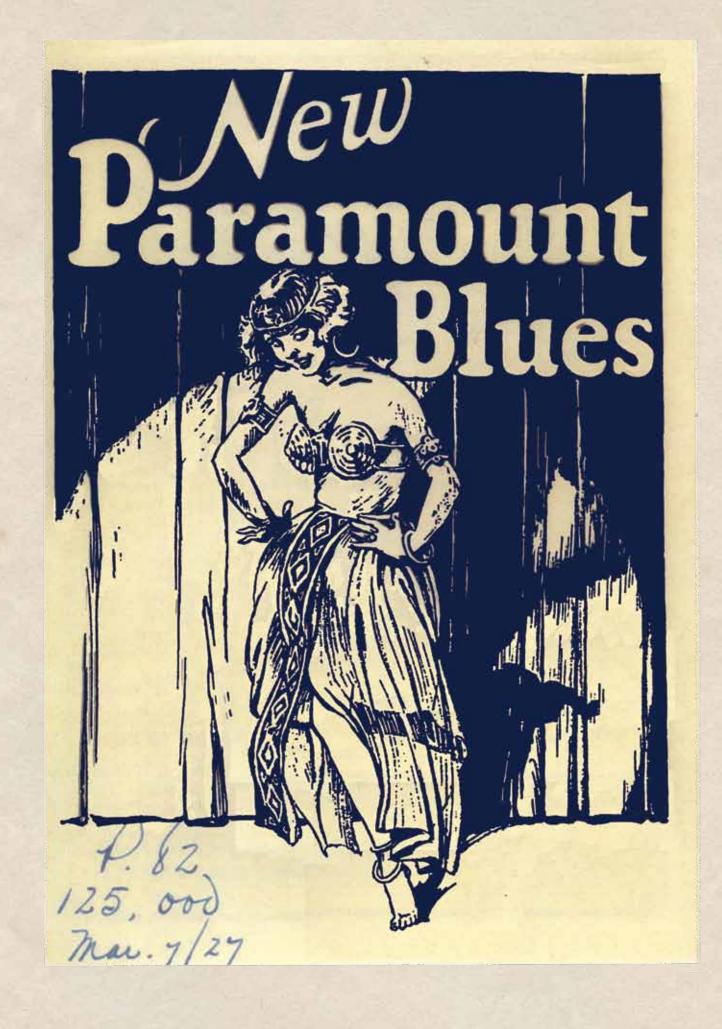
12217 ()

Address State. State.

February 1927.

Ad in Crisis

F. W. Boerner Co.,





Front cover of Paramount Records catalog, March 1927.

NYRL envelope promoting Paramour Records, o



BROADWAY RECORDS

Favorite Paramount Spiritua ERE they are - the leading spiritual records of the hour first, of course, and by the world's best artists, on Paramount Records: 12448—This Train Is Bound for Glory and Jacob Sent Joseph, Biddleville 12449—Man's Ingratitude and Memory of Departed Friends, Rev. Beard 12445—Swing Low, Sweet Charlot and Down By The Riverside, Norfolk 12440-I Know I Got Religion and The Funeral Train A-Coming, Rev. J. M. Gates and His Congregation. 12437-God So Loved The World and Prayer, by Rev. 12427—Dying Gambler and Praying For the Paster, Rev. J. M. Gates. 12396—I Heard The Voice Of Jesus Say Come Unto Me And Rest and Fight On, Your Time Ain't Long, Biddleville Quintette. 12386—All I Want Is That Pure Religion and I Want To Be Like Jesus In My Heart, Deacon L. J. Bates. 12234-Where Shall I Be and I'm Conna Build Right On Dat Shore, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. 12217-Exeklel Saw De Wheel and Crying Hely Unto The Lord, Norfolk Jubilee 12073—When All The Saints Come Marching In and That Old Time Religion, Paramount Jubilee Quartette. 12035—Father, Prepare Me and My Lord's Gonna Move This Wicked Race, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. Electrically DISTRIBUTED BY Recorded! E. E. FORBES & SONS PIANO CO. Paramount Records are recorded by the latest new electric method. Greater 1922 THIRD AVE. volume, amazingly clear tone. Always the best music — BIRMINGHAM, ALA. first on Paramount!

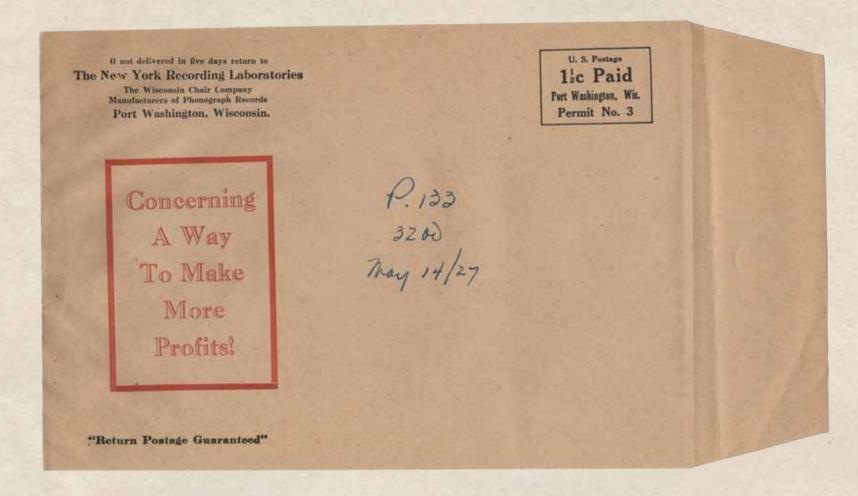
Window display featuring Broadway Records logo, ca. 1927.

Promotional flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, April 1927.



As Hot- by Charlie fackson Nº 12461 Paramount | The Popular Race Record

Chicago Defender ad, April 9, 1927. advertising Papa Charlie Jackson's new Paramount release, April 1927.



It's Here Now!

That New Blind Blake Hit!

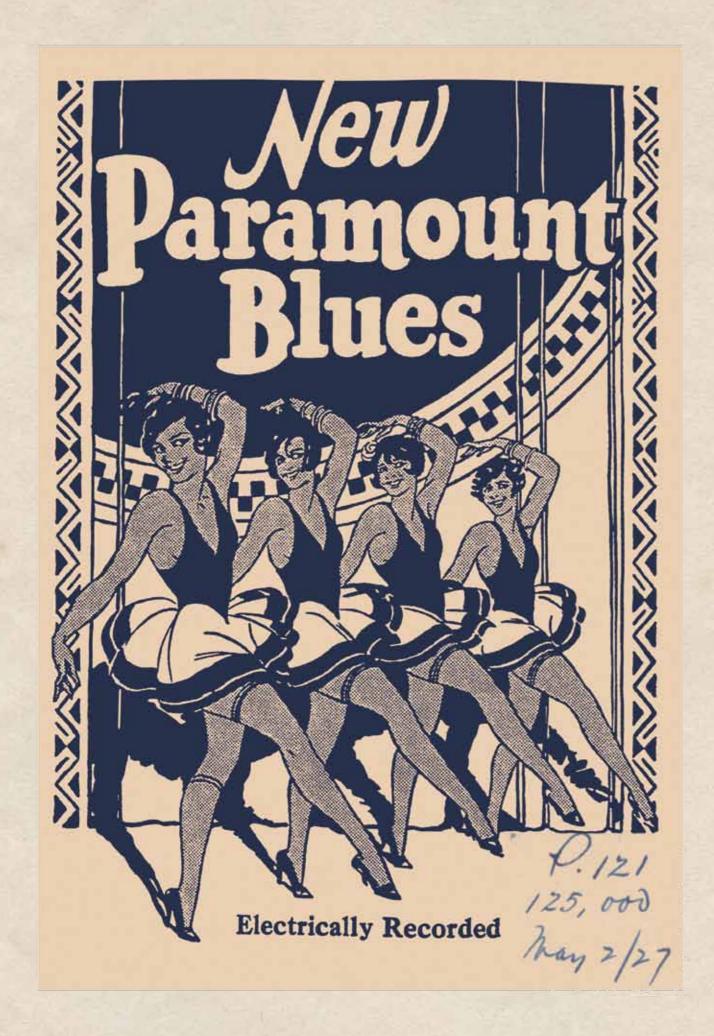
Black Dog Blues

Number 12464

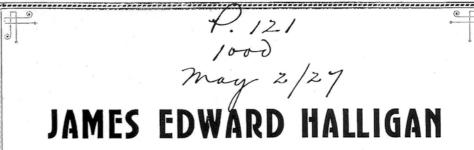
Paramount The Popular Race Record

NYRL maile envelope for sending sales materials to its dealer network, May 1927.

Banner advertising Blind Blake's new Paramou release, April 1927.



Front cover of Paramount Records catalog, May 1927.



Presents on Paramount Records a New Type of Folk Songs Undiscovered Until Now.

James Edward Halligan, noted author of Baton Rouge, La., who has spent nearly twenty years in research work in genealogy, characterist and folklore of the negro race has, among other things, found the negro race possessed of a form or type of musical expression quite unknown to the general public—and the race itself in general is unaware of this possession.

Dr. Halligan in conjunction with Professor W. Lawrence James who holds the chair of music in Leland College, at Baker, La., through The New York Recording Laboratories under its PARAMOUNT label is introducing to the public recordings and preserving for the world this type of negro musical expression which otherwise might have been lost to mankind.

These songs are as distinctive and as worthy as the famous old spirituals. They embody expressions of the river, the plantation, the mill, railroad, levee camp, in fact the entire sphere of human endeavor wherever and under whatever conditions it may be found and they attune the rhythm of song with the rhythm of the hoe chopping cotton, the spin of the cotton bale, the rolling of the "lasses" hogshead, the swing and ring of the sledge, in fact whatever may be the occupation. These songs have been gathered from the lips of the "Aunties" and "Uncles" of yesterday. They are not the product of foreign creative imagination but real unconfined outbursts of melodious abandon carrying the expressions of heart and soul—native word paintings of mood, atmosphere and incident, molded into artistic harmony.

The initial numbers recorded and copyrighted, released on PARAMOUNT records are "Oh Cap'n", "River Rousty Song", "Stevedo' Call" and "In The Mawning"—they are songs from the lower Mississippi River—that brown ribbon of water that winds its storied way through the heart of a section that was formerly dripping and fragrant with the essence of negro lore.

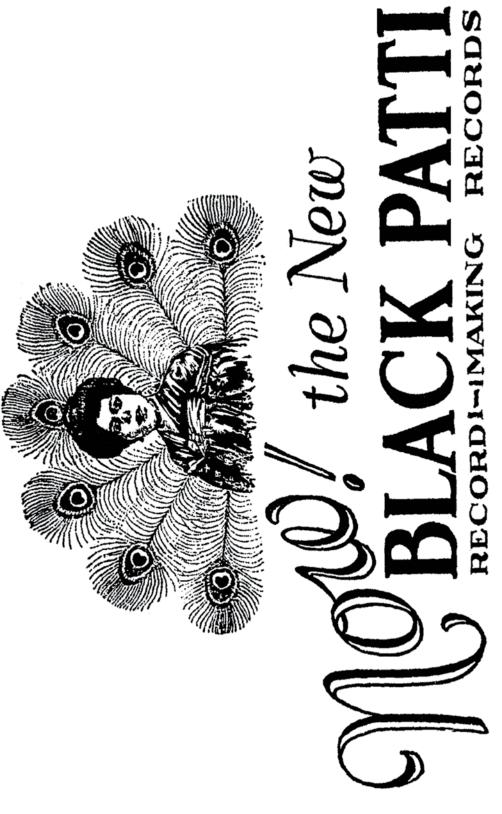
The work of Halligan and James through The New York Recording Laboratories in preserving and presenting to the world this new type of nearly forgotten negro songs will certainly lead to the betterment of the race, a contribution to American literature and music that has been overlooked, neglected and undiscovered until now.

Supplement to Paramount Records catalog, May 2, 1927.

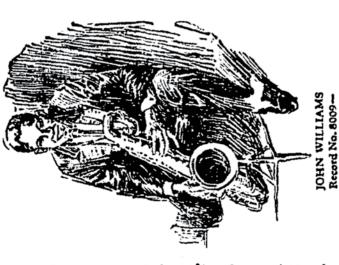


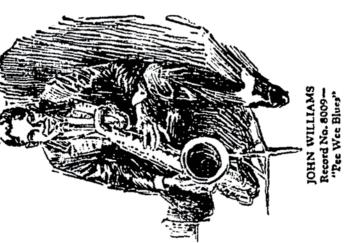


Chicago Defender ad, May 7, 1927. Promotional flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, ca. May 1927.

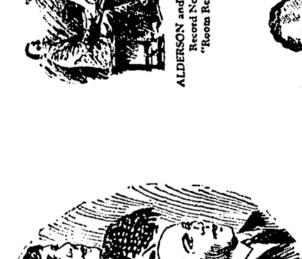


cords. The clearest trates catchiest tunes. Get each one. It is your g













Records

Be sure you get Black Patti Res Yourself a sure enough big tim —the kind you never Jet Every one

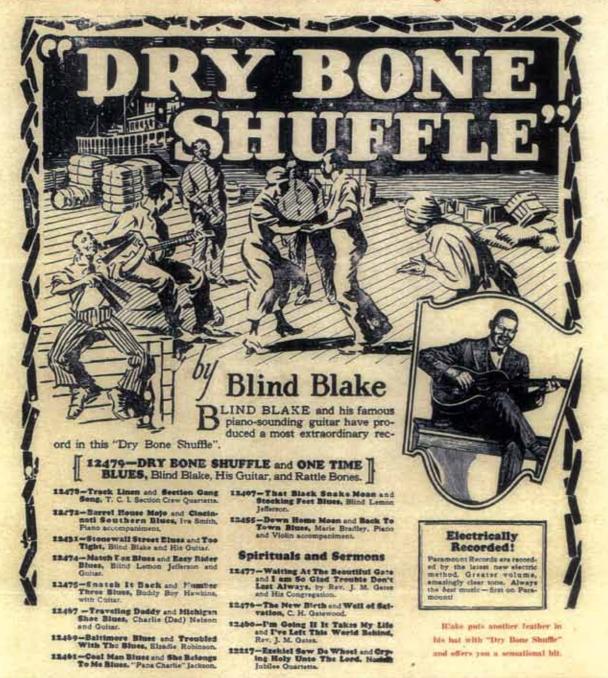
an't supply you with the Records you want, simply check the Postman—75 cents a record. We pay postage and insurance JOBBERS, DEALERS AND AGENTS: Write for

	Record No. Record No. Raiph Waldo Emerson W. L. S. Staff Organist Suwanner River—Ring The Banjo Suwanner River—Ring The Banjo Suwanner River—Ring The Banjo Raiph Waldo Emerson W. L. S. Staff Organist Raiph Waldo Emerson W. L. S. Staff Organist Raiph Waldo Emerson W. L. S. Staff Organist Raiph Waldo Emerson Raiph Waldo Emerson Staff Chicago Record Company 3621 S. State Street, Chicago Gentlemen: Please send me the records I have checked, for which I will pay the postman 75c cach upon delivery. Name. State State	
ALTO INCLINE OF CACHES OF THE BEST OF CHAPTER OF THE BEST OF THE B	Record No. Record Company Record Company Record Company Record Company Record Company Record No. Record No.	
an isometricity of the second	Record No. 6881—Hey! Lawdy Mama—The Prance 6811—There Blues 1982—Gang of Brown Skin Women 19812—Heave Don't You Lize's Reed & Little Harber 19812—Heave Don't You Lize's Reed & Little Harber 19812—Heave Don't You Lize's Reed & Little Harber 19813—Jeaus State Street Special 19814—19814 19814—19814 19814—1984	

167

Chicago
Defender ad
for releases on
Black Patti,
Paramount
recording
director Mayo
Williams's
mysterious
side project,
May 21, 1927.

Paramount's Sensational Hit by Blind Blake



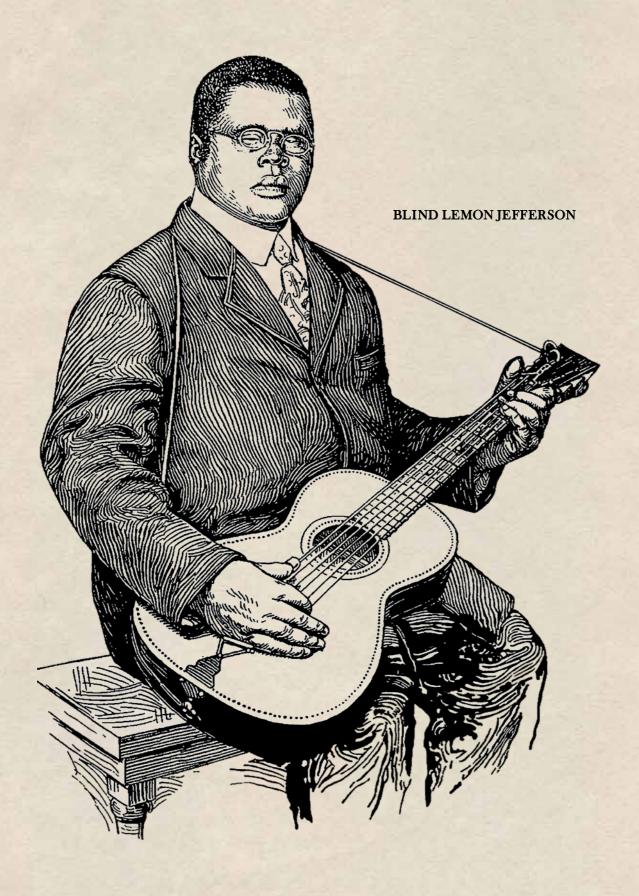
Post Card to be mailed to your jobber with order for the Big Hit and other records to be rushed No. 12479	Free Movie Slide to feature Dry Bone Shuffle. Your Name and Address Imprinted. Send us this card with your name and we will have slide mailed.
	Name
Name	Address
Address City and State	City and State

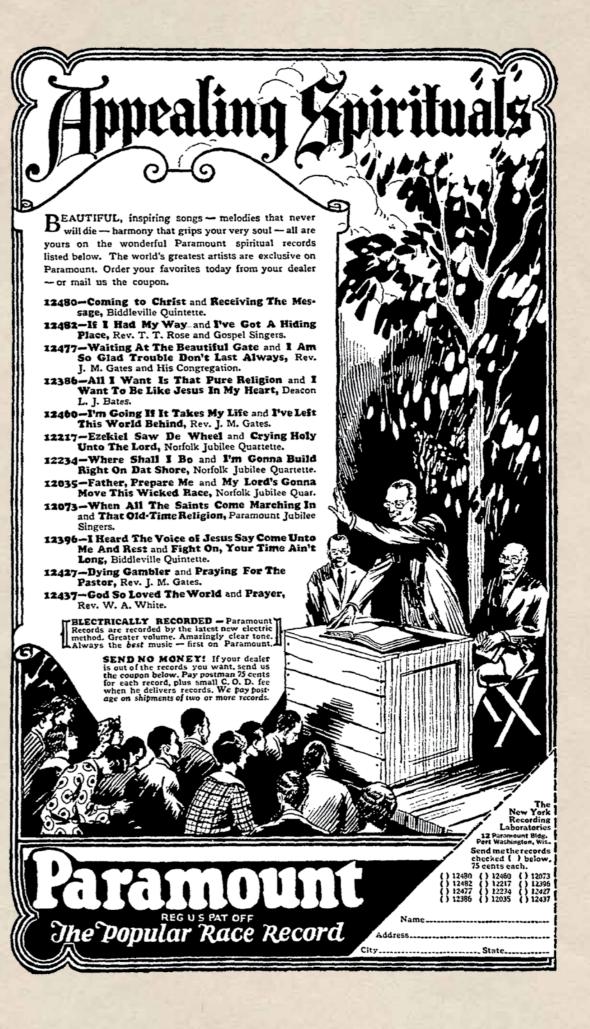
by Buddie Boy Hawkins TERE'S a red-hot, live-wire new ex-Clusive Paramount artist - none other than Buddie Boy Hawkins, himself, with his Guitar. He's a whole show in himself-he's out of sight, folks, as you'll agree when you lend your ears to his knockout "Snatch It Back Blues". Hear it on Paramount No. 12475, at your 12475-Snatch It Back Blues and Number Three Blues, Buddie Boy Hawkins and His Guitar. 12471-Oh Daddy, Doos and Parham and Sweet Patunia, Dixon and Channey(Clarinet-Piano Specialists). 12464—Black Dog Blues and Buck-Town Blues, Blind and Down Hearted Ma-Blake and His Guitar and Kazoo Band. 12474-Match Box Blues and 12497—That Black Snake Easy Rider Blues, Blind Moan and Stocking Feet Blues, Blind Lemon Lemon Jefferson and Guiter. 12467 — Traveling Daddy and Michigan Shoe Blues, Charlie (Dad) Nelson and 12431-Stonewall Street Blues and Too Tight, Blind Blake and His Guitar Spirituals and Sermons 12476-THE NEW BIRTH and WELL OF 12468-LET THE CHURCH ROLL ON and IF ANYBODY ASKS YOU WHO I AM, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. SALVATION, Sermons by C. H. Gate-Wood.

12473—Y O U BETTER RUN and SIGN OF
JUDGMENT, Sister Cunningham and T.

12477—WAITING AT THE BEAUTIFUL
GATE and I AM SO GLAD TROUBLE
DON'T LAST ALWAYS, by Rev. J. M. Paramount Records DISTRIBUTED BY The New York Recording Laboratories 1219 Wisconsin Avenue N. W. 1) 150

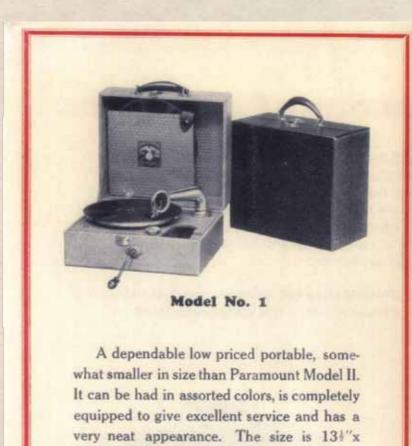
Promotional postcard order form provided to dealers, ca. May 1927. Promotional flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, May 1927.





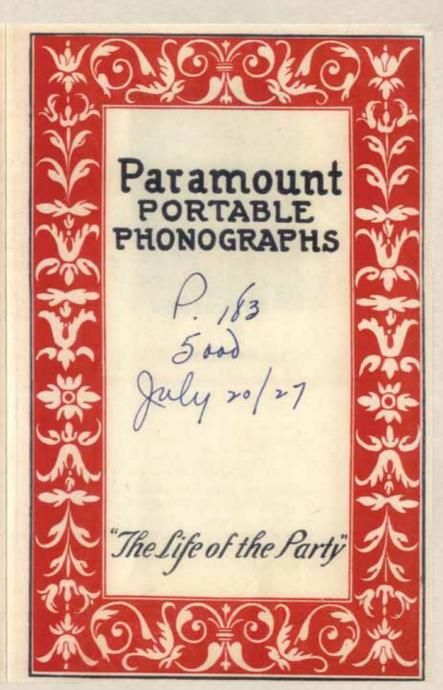
A Number To Get Back Of





111"x61" and weighs only 111 pounds.

FOR SALE BY



Excerpt from Boerner flyer featuring Paramount releases, June 1927. Brochure for Paramount's own line of portable phonographs, July 1927. J. M. BOSTWICK, President and Treasurer

O. E. MOESER, Vice President and Secretary

THE WISCONSIN CHAIR COMPANY



The New York Recording Laboratories

Manufacturers of Phonograph Records PORT WASHINGTON, WIS.

Cable address "RECORDING" New York Foreign Department, 44 Whitehall Street, New York City, N. Y. U. S. A.

June 28, 1927

Make Every Day A Banner Day:

You can do it by using Paramount's consistant line of hit records. Just about the time the trade gets ready to wonder what's the next -- there's a new hit on Paramount keeping things a-humming for the dealer.

Only recentlly it was "BLACK SNAKE MOAN" that was the talk of the trade, then "DRY BONE SHUFFLE", and now, well Blind Lemon Jefferson's RISING HIGH WATER BLUES is putting the kick in record business.

"FORE DAY CREEP" by Ida Cox is another feature. She has been absent from the list just long enough to make her record welcome and create action in sales. You will know automatically where to find this record in your shelves as there will be plenty of calls for it. Got 12488 in stock?

Wonder if you have overlooked 12485 by the Pace Jubilee Singers -- if you have, lose no time now in cashing it on it. The're asking for it.

The list of records is shown on the inside pages from which you can choose those you want to order from your jobber.

Yours very truly,

THE NEW YORK RECORDING LABORATORIES

Promotional letter to dealers from main offices in Port Washington, June 28, 1927.

TELEPHONE HARRISON 1216

THE WISCONSIN CHAIR COMPANY Under Trade Name

The New York Recording Laboratories

Manufacturers of Phonograph Records

J. M. BOSTWICK, President and Treasurer

O. E. MOESER, Vice President and Secretar,

THE WISCONSIN CHAIR COMPANY Under Trade Name

The New York Recording Laboratories

BRANCH OFFICE

ATLANTA, GA.

J. M. BOSTWICK, President and Treasurer

O. E. MOESER, Vice President and Secretary

THE WISCONSIN CHAIR COMPANY Under Trade Name

The New York Recording Laboratories

316 SOUTH WABASH Phone Harrison 3917 CHICAGO

J. M. BOSTWICK, President and Treasurer

O. E. MOESER, Vice President and Secretary

THE WISCONSIN CHAIR COMPANY Under Trade Name

BRANCH OFFICE

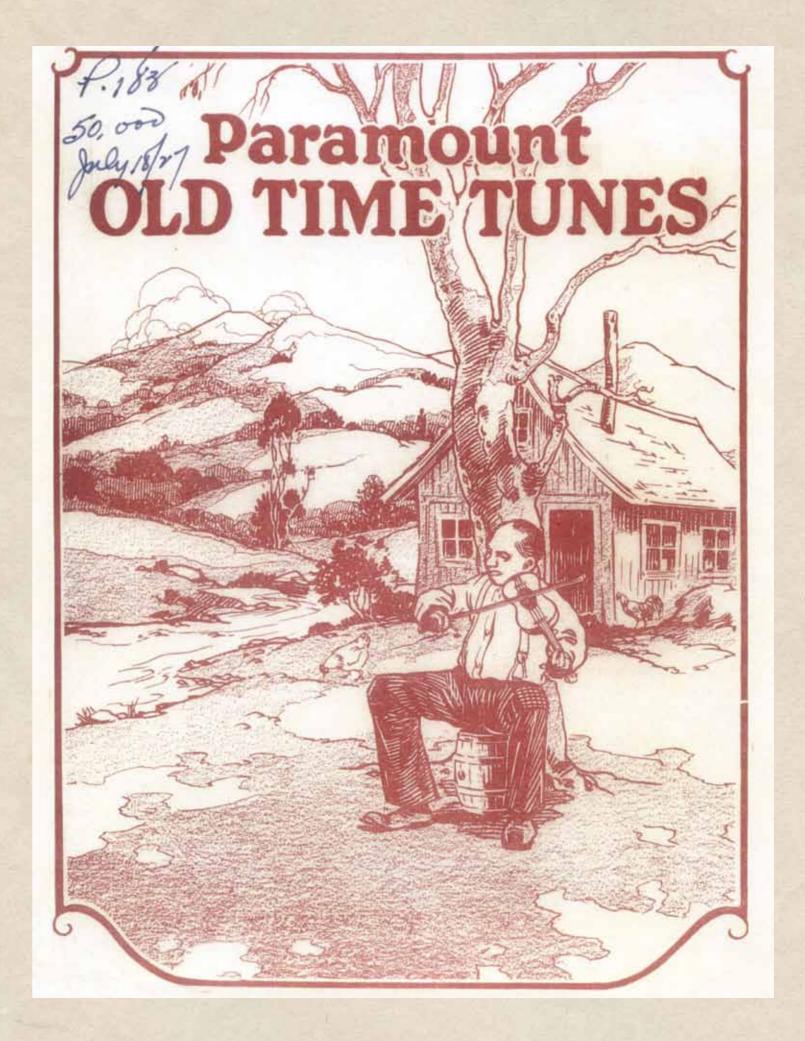


The Paramount Record Co.

1219 WISCONSIN AVENUE N. W. Phone West 2310 WASHINGTON, D. C.

> The various letterhead of Paramount's operations in D.C., Atlanta and Chicago, ca. 1926-27.



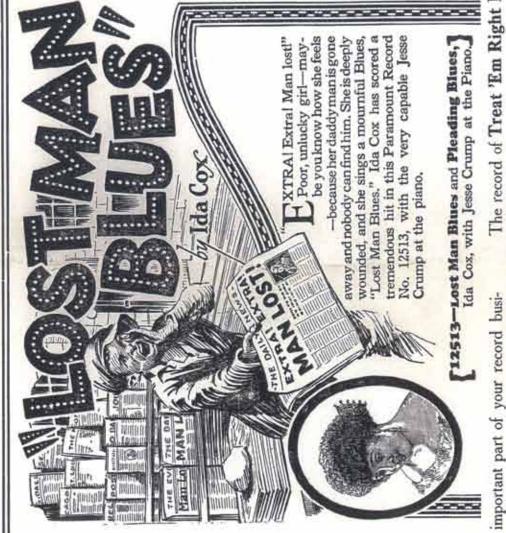


Chicago Defender ad, July 2, 1927. Front cover of Paramount Records catalog, July 1927.





Chicago Defender ad, July 30, 1927. flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, August 1927.



P. 225 - 35 No - Sept. 21/27 THOSE two guitar playing boys who have sprung to
fame under the title of the "Beale Street Sheiks" have just
made another Paramount record that will make you all sit up and take
notice. It is an out-of-the-ordinary number and they call it "YOU SHALL".
shall what? You'd be surprised! This is a daring record that will excite a lot of comment. Be
sure to ask your dealer for this sensational Paramount No. 12518,

[12518—You Shall and It's a Good Thing, Guitar and singing duet by the famous Beale Street Sheiks (Stokes and Sane).]

12513—Lost Man Blues and Pleading Blues, Ida Cox; Jesse Crump at the Piano.

12514—Doggone Wicked Blues and Okla-homa Man Blues, Lucille Bogan; Piano Acc.

12488—'Fore Day Creep and Gypsy Glass Blues, Ida Cox; Jesse Crump at the Piano. 12511-Black Bordered Letter and Six Thirty Blues, Bertha Henderson; Piano

12509-Whiskey Blues and Back Door Blues, Elzadie Robinson; Piano Accompani-ment by Will Ezell.

The latest, best hits are always FIRST on Paramount Records.

12508—Dead Drunk Blues and Misery Blues, "Ma" Rainey and Her Georgia Band (Piano: Hop Hopkins). 12507—Memphis Earthquake and Water Bound Blues, Alice Pearson; Piano Ac-

12510—Black Snake Dream Blues and Right Of Way Blues, Blind Lemon Jefferson and His Guitar; George Perkins at the Piano.

12497—Bad Feeling Blues and That Will Never Happen No More, Blind Blake and His Guitar.

Inspiring Spirituals

12515-Shepherd, Where Is Your Little Lumb and I Will Guide Thee, Norfolk Jubiles Quartetts.

12516—I Believe Fil Go Back Home and Sinner, You'll Need King Jesus, Wm. and Versey Smith; Gultarand Tamborine Accompaniment 12073.—When All The Saints Come Marching In and That Old-Time Religion, Paramount Jubiles Singers.

Paramount Records

DISTRIBUTED BY

E. E. Forbes & Sons Piano Co.

1922 Third Ave. Birmingham, Ala.

Paramount for local use by its dealer network, September 1927.

by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, September 1927.



Paramount Records

FOR SALE BY

Greenes Music Store

314 N. CHESTNUT ST.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

WE REPAIR ANY PHONOGRAPH

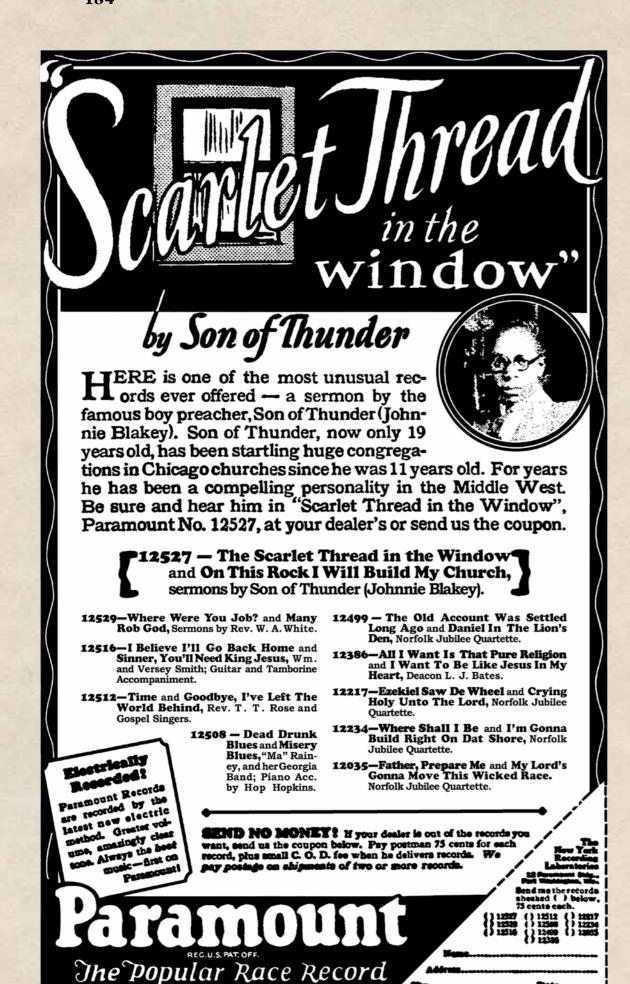
An Eager To Sell Paramount Record



You can't afford to be out of stock of this tremendous hit by "Ma" Rainey. She had the real homesick blues when singing Slow Driving Moan. Her Georgia Band got the feeling of it too and played some mean-wicked-mournful trombone and bass accompaniment. A number every dealer who takes his opportunities for business in the blues field, must have.

Promotional flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, September 1927.

flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, October 1927.



Making Paramount Mightier

The New Hits Continually Being Released

Great Selling Numbers

GONE DADDY BLUESMa R.	alney and Her Georgia Bas
12314—MAMILISH HLUES Vocal—Guitar HAM HONE BLUES—Vocal—Guita	
12517—BOTTOMLAND—For Dancing SHOOTING THE PISTOL—For Da	
12118-YOU SHALL-Yoral, Acc. Guitar I IT'S A GOOD THING-	Stokes and Share
13516-BLACK SNAKE DREAM BLAIES- RIGHT OF WAY BLAIES-Pinne &	
12515-BLACK BORDERED LETTER-V Cornet Arc	Bertha Broders
BACK DOOR BLUES	
12368_DEAD DRUNK BLUES-Voral Blues MISERY BLUES-Voral Blues Ma R.	res, Plano Acc., Hop Hopkin Ms Rains along and Her Goorgia Bas
HIST-SKOODLE UM SKOO- , SHIEK OP DESPLAINES STREE	STC. Jacks
BARREL HOUSE MAN	Elizadie Robiner
I WANT TO BE LIKE JESUS IN	
CYPSY GLASS BLUES	
THAT WILL NEVER HAPPEN NO	O MORE Blind Blad
ITHE-EARLY MORNING BLUES- WEST COAST BLUES	VII. 10 (10)

TEDDY BEAR BLUES

BLACK SNAKE MOAN-Vocal, Guitar A

Here Is The Sensational Accomplishment Of The Age

Full 10 Rounds

Dempsey-Tunney Fight

Every word-colour and sharp-direct from ringside! The lattle of the Century-Decopary-Immer Chicago fight-on 8 facility phonograph re-certa? (Two results to such record-one result on each side). Direct from ringside, these records bring to you the smoothcad continuous that the rivid, quivering roles of the indice among certain of the first phonograph of the record of the record

Retail \$3.00 per set

Get Them From Jobbers Dealer's Price \$2.12 per set

New Race Records

12531— \	ocal with Guitar
HALF CUP OF TEA	
SWEET TO MAMA	
Beale Street Shieks	
12530	Vocal
HALLELUJAH	
TALK ABOUT DIXIE	
Cotton Belt Quartette	
12529	Sermon
WHERE WERE YOU JOB	
MANY ROB GOD	
Rev. W. A. White	
12528	Instrumental
HURRY SUNDOWN BLUES	

HOW MANY SETS		Quantity Record No.		LIST HERE OTHER		
FIGHY RECORDS			12510	песонов	RECORDS YOU WANT	
			12511	Quantity	Record No	
NEW I	RECORDS		12509			
Quantity	Record No.		12508		+	
	12531		12501			
	12530		12417			
	12529		12386			
	12528		12488			
PREVIOUS	HELEASES		12497			
	12526		12387			
	12524		12487		- 6	
	12517		12407			
	12518					

	SHIP REC	ORDS TO	
n Nome .			

Chicago Defender ad, October 15, 1927. Dealer's list and order form, provided by Paramount to its dealer network, October 1927.





Sell The Country Trade

Paramount Records



Herewith List of Best Selling Numbers



X C Sacred Singers

3051—One By One—Vocal X C Sacred Quartette

Where We'll Never Grow Old-Vocal X C Sacred Quartette

KENTUCKY THOROBREDS

3928—Have Thine Own Way—Vocal Quartette....X C Sacred Quartette
Take Time To Be Holy—Vocal Quartette...X C Sacred Quartette

Collins Brothers...The Pride of Kentucky

3042—In The Good Old Summer Time—Vocal Duet....Collins Brothers When The Work's Done This Fall—Vocal Solo.......Al. Collins

Kentucky Thorobreds

Kentucky Thorobreds ...Kentucky Thorobreds

Sid Harkreader and Grady Moore

3054—It Looks To Me Like A Big Night Tonight—Vocal, Violin and
Gultar Acc. Sid Harkreader and Grady Moore
Run Nigger Run Sid Harkreader and Grady Moore
3052—Will There Be Any Stars In My Crown—Vocal, Violin and

Gultar Acc.
The Land Where We Never Grow Old—
Sid Harkrender and Grady Moore 3044—Bits Of Blues—Guitar and Violin Acc.
Don't Reckon It'll Happen Again—
Sid Harkreader and Grady Moore

Bid Harkrender and Company Sid Harkrender and Grady Moore My Little Home In Tennessee. Sid Harkrender and Grady Moore 3035—Only As Far As The Gate. Harkrender and Moore Where The River Shannon Flews. Harkrender and Moore 3033—Mocking Bird Breakdown—Instrumental. Harkrender and Moore I Love The Hills Of Tennessee—Instrumental.—C. D. Moore and Violin Company Company

Full Choir-Grand Organ and Band of H. M. Scots Guard

Recorded in England

3937—Lend Kindly Light—Hymn—*
Nearer My God To Thee—Hymn—
Full Choir, Grand Organ and H, M. Scots Guards

3038—Onward Christian Soldiers—
Abide With Me—
Full Choir, Grand Organ and H, M. Scots Guards

Vernon Dalhart and Riley Quartette

3053—Savior Lead Me Lest I Stray— Vocal— Wonderful Story Of Love Vocal—Pinnist J. M. Dye Riley Quartette

The Church In The Wild-

3021-Pass Around The Bottle-The Wreck of The Number Nine—T. Solo, Nov. Acc. Vernon Dalhart



HARKREADER AND MOORE

Dealers' list of best selling provided by Paramount to its dealer network. October 1927.



12530-Hallelujah and Talk About Dixie, Cotton Belt

12528-Hurry Sundown Blues and Landlady's Footsteps, Madlyn Davis and Her Red Hot Shakers.

12529-Where Were You, Job? and Many Rob God, Electrically Sermons by Reverend

Recorded! Paramount Records
are recorded by the
latest new electric
method. Greater vol-12526 - Slow Driving Moan & Gone Daddy

W. A. White.

Blues, "Ma" Rainey and Her Georgia Band.

12524-Mamlish Blues and Ham Bone Blues, Ed Bell; Guitar Accompaniment

12518-You Shall and It's a Good Thing, Beale Street Sheiks and their guitars, (Stokes & Sane).

12509-Whiskey Blues and Back Door Blues, Elzadie Robinson; Will Ezell at the piano.

12488-'Fore Day Creep and Gypsy Glass Blues, Ida Cox; Piano Acc. by Jesse Crump.

Paramount Records

FOR SALE BY

Greenes Music Store 314 N. CHESTNUT ST.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

WE REPAIR ANY PHONOGRAPH

flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network. October 1927



Order Blank

Paramount Old Time Tunes

Here's Why—You should be having in stock Paramount's old time releases. Sales are increasing, call numbers are in the line by exclusive artists, recorded electrically, and you should be getting the profit. They represent an opportunity for additional sales.

A New Number And A Few Picked Sellers

Quan.	
3086—AXEL AT THE BASEBALL GAME AXEL RECEIVES A LETTER—Monologue	
3079—SHE IS ONLY A BIRD IN A GILDED CAGE-Vocal-Violin and Guitar Acc BILL MASON	
3025—WAY DOWN IN JAIL ON MY KNEES—Vocal—Violin and Guitar Acc. THE GAMBLER'S DYING WORDS	
3071—I'VE WAITED LONG FOR YOU—Guitar and Violin Acc.	

Allow These Records To Aid You In Keeping A Steady Sales Stride

Quan	North Carolina Rambiers	Quan.	Collins Brothers
30	072—Kitty Blye Blue Eyes 064—Take Back The Ring Willie My Darting 065—Give My Love To Nell My Mother And My Sweetheart	3046	Love Alvays Has Its Way Love Alvays Has Its Way Put My Little Shoes Away Ou Top Of Old Smokey When The Work's Done This Fall In The Good Old Summer Time
30	Kentucky Thorobreds 80—I'll Not Mary At All Shady Grove	3082	Paramount Sacred Four Jesus Has Pardoned Me
	59—Till We Meet Again He Cometh 36—In The Shade Of The Old Apple Tree	E-90124-553/2019	I've Waited Too Long To Prepare The Beautiful Land The Unclouded Day
-	This World Is Not My Home Riley Quartette	3073	How Wonderful Heaven Must Be Riding The Billows For Home
	76—My Faith Is Clinging To Thee How Beautiful Heaven Must Be 53—Wonderful Story Of Love Saviour, Lead Me Lest I Stray	9660	Golden Melody Boys I Wonder Why Nobody Cares For Me Would You Ever Think Of Me
	Harkreader and Moore	3068-	-The Old Tobacco Mill The Cross Ered Butcher
-	63—A Trip To Town Lazy Tennessee 61—The Old Rugged Cross In The Sweet Bye And Bye	3081-	—When The Golden Rod Is Blooming Oue Again Cabin Home
	54—It Looks To Me Like A Big Night Tonight Run Nigger Run 52—Will There Be Any Stars In My Crown	3050-	Favorite Numbers —The Gospel Train
	The Land Where We Never Grow Old 12—My Little Home In Tennessee Ritty Wells	3055-	Call For Sinners -My Blue Ridge Mountain Home Golden Slippers
302	22—Hand Me Down My Walking Cane The Bully Of The Town	3084	In The Garden There Is Sunshine In My Soul

DISTRIBUTED BY

Cleveland Phonograph Co.

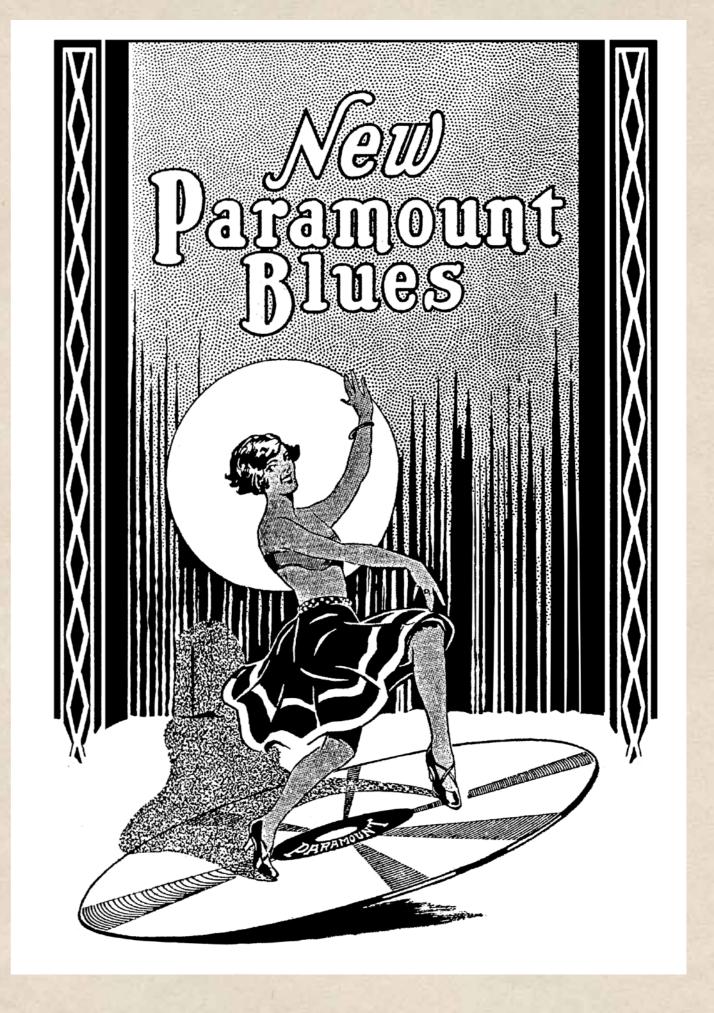
5300 HARVARD AVE. CLEVELAND, O.

Recorded Electrically

P	VIA			
-	0			

ADDRESS

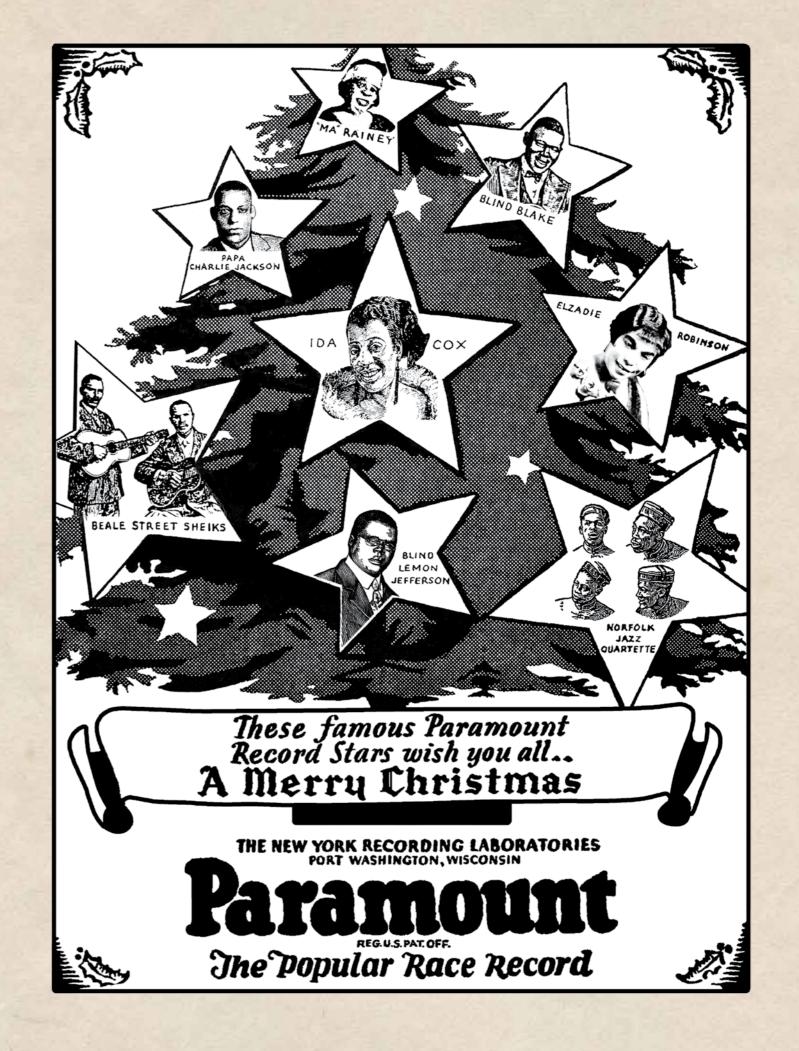
CITY and STATE



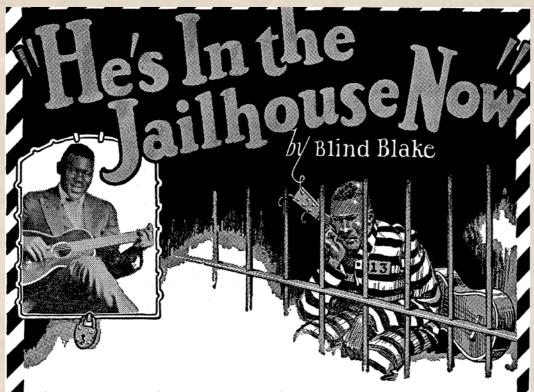
Order Blank provided by Paramount to its dealer network, November 1927.

Front cover of Paramount Records catalog, November 1927.





Chicago Defender ad, December 17, 1927.



THIS is a fine way to end up the old year and start the new. He's in the jailhouse, with his guitar and all, and there's no prospect of getting out. Why is he there? Well, wait till you hear the one and only Blind Blake tell about it in his latest Paramount Record No. 12565—"He's in the Jailhouse Now" on one side and the peppy "Southern Rag" on the other. Ask your dealer for it,

12565—He's in the Jailhouse Now and Southern Rag, Blind Blake and His Guitar.

12558-Workin' On The Railroad and Yel-

12560—Women Won't Need No Man, Lucille Bogan; Piano Acc. by Will Ezell, and War Time Man Blues, Lucille Bogan; Guitar Acc. by Charlie Jackson.

12541—Rambler Blues and Struck Sorrow
Blues, Blind Lemon Jefferson and His
Guitar.

12553—Look Out, Papa, Don't Tear Your
Pants and Baby, Don't You Be So
Mean, Papa Charlie Jackson and Guitar.

12556—Cold and Blue and Seven Day Blues,
Ida Cox; Piano Acc. by Jesse Crump.

12551—Chinch Bug Blues and Deceitful Brownskin Blues, Blind Lemon Jefferson and His Guitar.

> 12552—Mr. Crump Don't Like It and Blues In "D", Beale Street Sheiks and Guitars (Stokes and Sane.)

> 12509—Whiskey Blues and Back Door Blues, Elzadie Robinson, Piano Acc. by Will Ezell.

Inspiring Spirituals

Electrically Recorded! Paramount Records

12567-God Don't Like It Either (Moonshine) and Come Down Out of That Tree, Zachariah, Vocals by Kate Danie

12559-Satan At Church and The Word Eagle, Sermons with Singing,

Paramount Records

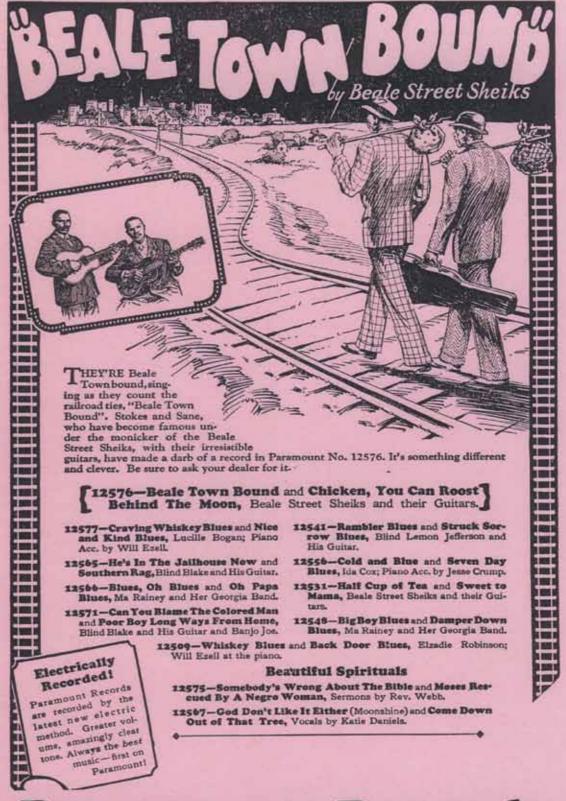
FOR SALE BY

Adams St. Music Store

325 N. ADAMS

RICHMOND, VA.

WE REPAIR ANY PHONOGRAPH



Paramount Records

FOR SALE BY

D.RIFKIND

7th & G Street, N. W WACHINGTON D C

flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network. December 1927.

Promotional flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, December 1927 - January 1928.

Or Paramount Order

ds

Laboratories . w. Recording 1 New The

that it will 'S KANSAS

JIM JACKSON'S KANSAS CITY BLUES
A LITTLE BIT CLOSER Tiny Patham and
SEE THAT MY GRAVE'S KEPT CLEAN
HE AROSE FROM THE DEAD TWO

3074—I WONDER WHY NOBODY CARES FOR ME	SEA BOARD BLUES—Guitar AccBlind Blake 12582—MIDNIGHT HOUR BLUES—Vocal—Plano Acc. Jesse CrumpIda Cox GIVE ME A BREAK BLUES—Vocal—Plano Acc. Jesse CrumpIda Cox 12576—BEALE TOWN BOUND—Vocal—Guitar AccBeale Street Shelks	12578—GONE DEAD ON YOU BLUES—Vocal—Guitar Acc Blind Lemon Jefferson ONE DIME BLUES—Vocal—Guitar Acc Blind Lemon Jefferson 12565—HE'S IN THE JAILHOUSE NOW—Vocal Blind Blake SOUTHERN RAG—Vocal Blind Blake BLUES—Vocal Ma Rainey and Her Georgia Band
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Will

RACE	12541—Rambler Blues Struck Sorrow Blues Blind Lemon Jefferson	12556—Cold And Blue Seven Day Blues	12553-Look Out Papa Don't Tear Your Pants	Baby Don't You Be So Mean Charlie Jackson	12509—Whiskey Blues Back Door Blues Elzadie Robinson	12510—Black Snake Dream Blues Right Of Way Blues Blind Lemon Jefferson	12551—Chinch Bug Blues Blues In "D"	12548—Big Boy Blues Damper Down Blues Ma Rainey and Georgia Band	12387—Early Morning Blues West Coast Blues	The Sainted Devil	Father My Lor Wick	12386—All I Want Is That Pure I Want To Be Like Jesus In My
	1254	1255	1255		1250	1251	1255	1254	1238	12579	12035	1238

The Master Of The Storm The Church In The Wildw

AND CARD diented he nount records ind

Y	***************************************



Blind Lemon Jefferson Blind Blake Banjo Joe Norfolk Quartette Ida Cox Ed. Bell



- Artists -

Play and Sing For You The Greatest List of BLUES and SPIRITUALS Ever

Put on Records!

Ask To Hear Them

Ma Rainey

Beale Street Sheiks

12576—Bettle Town Bound—
Chicken You Can Roost Rebind
The Moon—
12518—You Shall—
I's A Good Thing—
12531—Staret To Marma—
Half A Cup Of Tes—
12532—Mr. Crimp Den't Like B—
Illues In "D"—

Norfolk Quartette

Father, Prepare Me— 12267—Threw Out The Life Line— I'm Goma Make Heaven My

12515—Shepherd Where Is Your Little Land I Will Gulde Thee-



12301—Shoudle Um Shus—
Shelh Of Desplaines Street—
12373—Blue Monday Mersing Blues—
12533—Look Out Papa Don't Tear Your
Pants—
Baby Don't You Re Se Mean—

Hot Numbers

Spirituals

1258 Everytime I Feel The Spirit— Good News Charlot's Coming— 12573—Present Your Body— Billod Bartimus— 12507—God Don't Like It Either (Mous-

Come Down Out Of That Tree
Zachariab

12531.—Heaben—
Get Away Jardan—
12385.—MI I Want Is That Pure Religion—
I Want To Be Like Jenus In My
Heart—
12073.—When All The Saints Come March—

12073—When All The Saints Come Marching In—
That Old Time Beligion—
12203—Re's The One—
You'd Better Mind—
12185—I'll Be Satisfied—
It Pays To Serre Jenus—
12206—I Heard The Voice Of Jesus Say
Cone Units Me And Rest—
Fight On Your Time Ain't Long—

Sermons

12579—The Sainted Devil—
Settling Time—
12575—Samebody's Wrong About The
Bibles—
Masex Rescued By A Negra
Woman—
12538—Salan At Church—
The Word Eagle—

Favorite Numbers

12568—Mabile Blues— Drunk Man's Strut— 12556—Rough House Blues— Hap Off—

Charlie Jackson's Latest Hits

Ids Cox 12568—Blues Oh Blues Oh Papa Blues 12508—Dead Drunk Blues 12508—Dead Drunk Blues 13526—Slaw Driving Moan— Gone Daddy Blues 12545—Big Boy Blues Damper Down Blues—

12183.—Tore Day Creep— Gypsy Glass Blues— 12582—Midnight Hour Blues— Give Me A Berah Blues— 12542—Cold And Blues— Seven Day Blues— 12543—Lost Man Blues— 12543—Lost Man Blues— 12544—Mojo Hand Blues— Alphomala Blues—

Blind Lemon Jefferson

Blind Lemon Jefferson

12511—Gene Deast On You Blues—
One Dime Blues—
12551—Chinch Bing Blues—
Deceitful Brewnskin Blues—
Right Of Way Blues—
12403—Het Dugs—
Weary Dog Blues—
12403—Het Dugs—
Weary Dog Blues—
12403—Hising High Water Blues—
Teeldy Hear Blues—
12413—Rising High Water Blues—
12413—Bablit Foot Blues—
12543—Rabbit Foot Blues—
12543—Bablit Foot Blues—
12443—Breke And Hongry—Bad Luck Blues—
12454—Wartinus Blues—
12454—Old Rounders Blues—
12464—Hlark Scalas Moon—
Stocking Feet Blues—
12464—Glark Scales Moon—
12564—Glark Blues—
12564—Glark Blues—
12574—Gack O' Diamond Blues—
Cock Blues Blues—
12564—Rabbit Blues—
12564—Bablit Blues—Bablit Blues—
12564—Bablit Blues—Bablit Blues—Babli 12109—Daniel In The Llons' Den— That Aeronat Was Settled— 12468—Let The Church Roll On— If Anybody Asha You Who I Am— 12433—Pharash's Army Get Browned— Great Jehovali— 12234—Where Shall I Be— I'm Gonna Build Right On Dai Share 17217—Ezekiel Saw De Wheel— Crying Holy Unto The Levil— 17233—My Lord's Genna Move This Wicked Ra

Rev. J. M. Gates

12427—Dying Gambier—
Praying For The Pastor—
12448—I Know I Got Religion—
12448—I'm Funcal Train A-Coming—
12468—I'm Geing II II Takes My Lifte—
I've Left This World Behind—
12472—Waiting M The Beaufful Gate—
I'm So Glad Trouble Don't Last—

Blind Blake's Famous Hits

Blind Blake's Famous Hits
12497—Bad Feeling Blues—
That Will Never Happen No More12415—Dry Bone Shuffle—
One Time Blues—
12464—Black Dog Blues—
Early Morning Blues—
12464—Black Dog Blues—
Back-Town Blues—
12411—Tampa Bound—
Blake's Worried Blues—
12411—Too Tight—
Stenevall St. Blues—
12411—Come On Beys—
Skeedle Loo Doo Blues—
12463—He's In The Jallhouse Now—
Seatherts Rag—
12283—Hard Road Blues—
Sea Board Blues—
Sea Board Blues—

3049—The Church In The Wildwood— The Master Of The Storm— 2051—Mother Is Gone— One By One— 2025—Geodbye To My Stepstones— The Weeplag Wildow Tree— 2013—My Carollon Home— Zeb Turney's Gal—



FOR SALE BY

Broad & Market St. Music Co. Newark, N. J.



Release list created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, ca. January 1928.

Order blank provided by to its dealer network in the D.C. area, ca. December 1927 - January 1928.

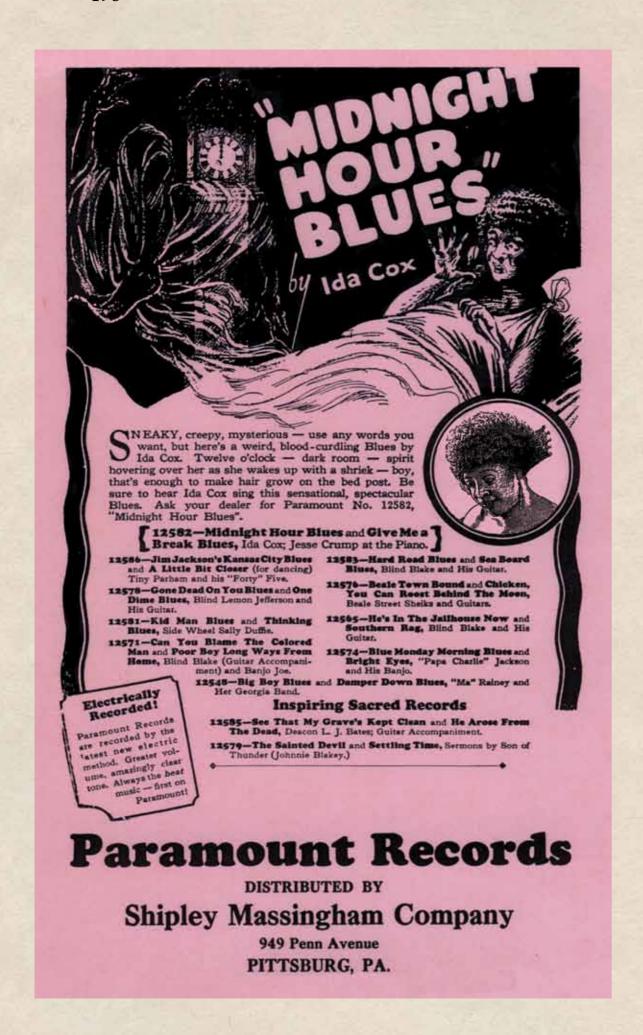
Promotional flyer created

by Paramount

for local use

by its dealer

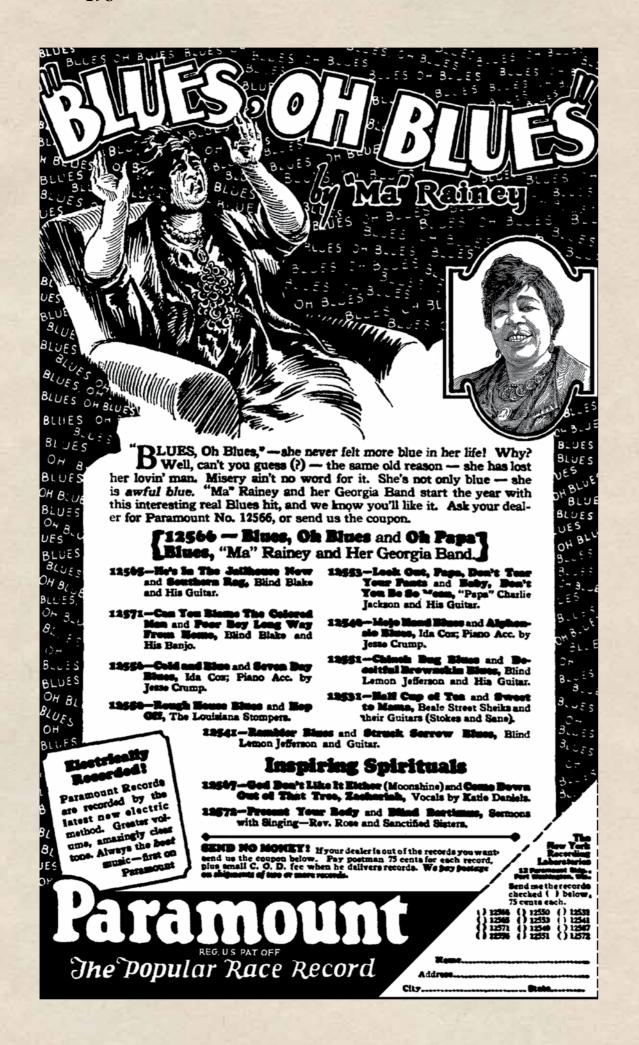
network, ca. February 1928.



Beale Street Sheiks

AND how they do Jazz those Blues! The
Beale Street Sheiks (Stokes and Sane), who
sere famous for that great hit "You
Shall," have made another sensational record
with a lot of good singing and some fine guitar
playing. They call it "Jazzin' the Blues," and
it's Paramount No. 12591. Be sure to ask
your dealer for it. Last Go Round, Beale Street
Sheiks and their Guitars. 22594-Oriental Man and Sock That Thing (for dancing) Dirie-Land Thumpers. 12500—Ma Rainey's Black Bottom and Georgia Cake Walk, "Ma" Rainey and Her Georgia Band. 12532—Madison Street Rag and Jonestown Blues, Banjo Joe; Guitar Accompaniment by Blind Blake. 12532—Midnight Hour Blues and Cive Me A Break Blues, Ida Cox; Piano Acc. by Jesse Crump. 12583—Hard Road Blues and Sea Board Blues, Blind Blake and His Guitar. 22578-Gone Dead On You Blues and One Dime Blues, Blind Lemon Jefferson and His Guitar. 12565—He's In The Jailhouse Now and Southern Rag, Blind Blake; Guitar and Banjo Accompaniment. 22586-Jim Jackson's Kansas City Blues (For Dancing) and A Little Bit Closer, Tiny Parham and His "Forty" Five. 22407—That Black Snake Mean and Stocking Feet Bines, Blind Lemon Jefferson. Electrically Recorded! Sublime Spirituals 12585-Where Shall I Be and He Arose From The Dead, Descon L. J. Bates; Guitar Accompaniment. 12589—I Have Anchored My Soul and King Jesus Stand By Me, Norfolk Jubilee Quartette. Paramount Records DISTRIBUTED BY E. E. Forbes & Sons Piano Co. 1922 Third Ave. N., Birmingham, Ala.

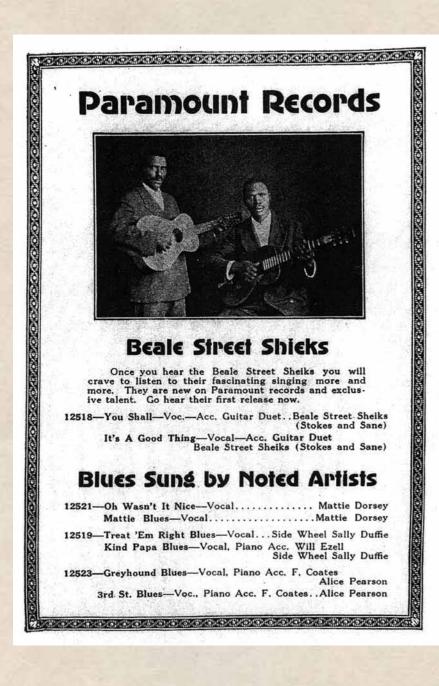
Promotional flyer created by Paramount for local use by its dealer network, December 1927 -January 1928.

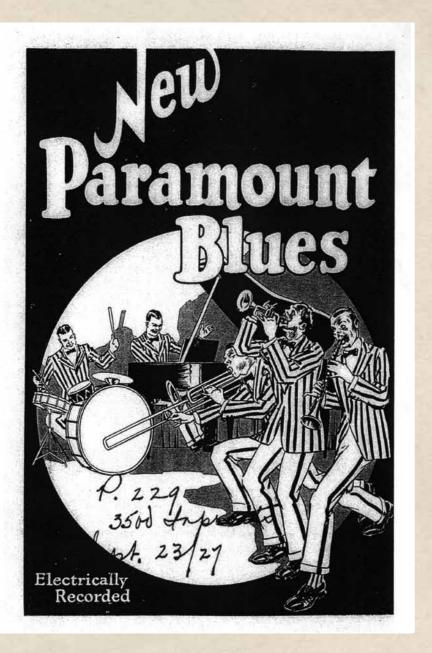


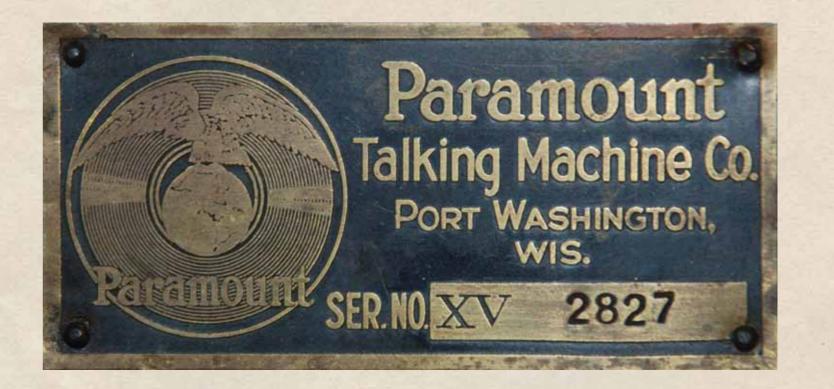


Chicago Defender ad, January 7, 1928.

Chicago Defender ad, March 10,







Front (right) and back (left) covers of Paramount Records catalog, September 1927. CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate
Telegram or Cablegram unless its character is indicated by
a symbol in the check
or in the address.

WESTERN

SYMBOLS

BLIN Day Letter

HUTE Night Message

HI Night Letter

LOO Deferred

CIF Cable Letter

West End Letter

Received at 405-401-409 West Market St. (Near 4th Ave.) Louisville, Ky. 1927 APR 11 AM 14 41

PORTWASHINGTON WIS 11 1000A

P I BURKS AND CO

751

911 WEST BROADWAY LOUISVILLE KY

HAVE ROBERTS AND PARTNER REPORT DIRECT TO MARSH SEVEN NAUGHT SEVEN LYON AND HEALY BLDG TEN AN TOMORROW & CANT BE THERE MARSH AND KRATZER WILL HANDLE

A C LAIBLY.



PLATES SUBPART Nº.1

Label and sleeve art of the home-grown imprints of New York Recording Laboratories.





Green shellac for Irish release on Paramount's 33000 series, ca. November 1920.

Marbled shellac release in Paramount's popular 20000 series, late 1921. Left: Paramount version I produced by NYRL's predecessor entity United Phonographs Corporation (UPC), 1917. Featured label is 2001-B, the very first Paramount release; eagle is perched on phonograph cabinet.

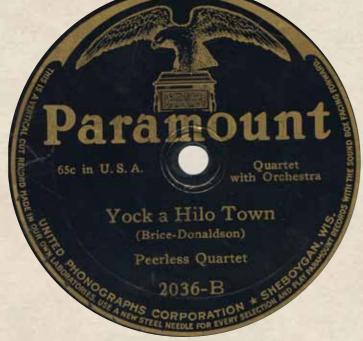
Right:
Paramount
version II,
UPCproduced, 1917;
accompaniment
listed beneath
song title.





Left: Paramount version III, UPCproduced, 1918; accompaniment listed at 3 o'clock.

Right:
Paramount
version IV, 1918;
manufacturing
credit changed
to New York
Recording
Laboratories,
Inc., Port
Washington.









Left: Paramount version V(a), 1918; indication of price near spindle hole.

Right: Paramount version V(b), 1918; prices provided for US and Canada.





Left:
Paramount
version
VI(a), 1918;
accompaniment listed
at
3 o'clock of
label.

Right:
Paramount
version
VI(b), 191819; pricing
info reconfigured.

Left: Paramount version VII, 1919; first use of colored labels, for Paramount 30000 popular series. Note UPC manufacturing credit.

Right: Paramount version VIII(a), 1919; variation in prices. Note return to NYRL manufacturing credit.

Left:

Paramount

variation in

1919-20;

prices.

Right:

Paramount

version IX,

1919; lateral

cut record.













Left: Paramount version X(a), green variation, 1920; no price indication.

Right: Paramount version X(b), 1920: no price indication.





Left: Paramount version XI, 1920; Paramount eagle-onglobe logo makes first appearance, replacing eagle-onphonograph logo.

Right: Paramount version XII(a), ca. 1924; special Spanish 6000 Series, price and TM variations.







Left:

Paramount

List Price.

Left: Paramount version XIV(a), 1925; special pipe organ 4000 series by Milton Charles and Jesse Crawford; trademark language in Spanish.

Right: Paramount version XIV(b), black variation, ca. 1925; special pipe organ 4000 series, possibly repressing, no Spanish trademark language.









Left: Paramount version XV, 1925, probably reprinted with black labels instead of blue; note single-lined manufacturing credit.

Right: Paramount version XVI, 1927; first version of Paramount label with half arch on top of label.



with Two Guitar Accompaniment by The Pruit Twins Paramount 12098 SECODDING LABO

Ma Rainey's picture label in Paramount's 12000 "Race" series, 1924.

Alabama

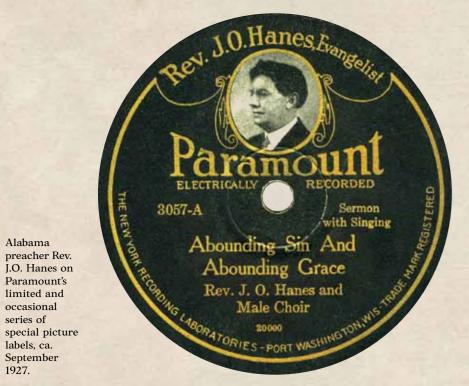
Paramount's

limited and

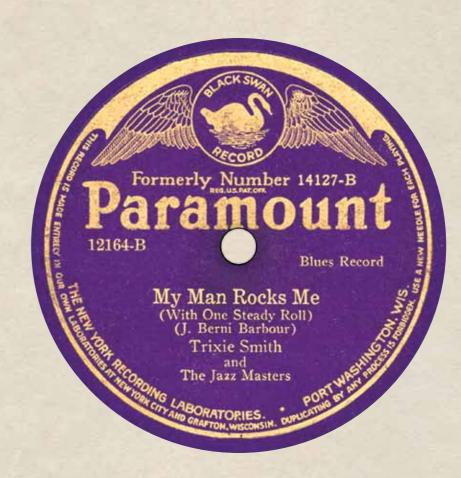
occasional

series of

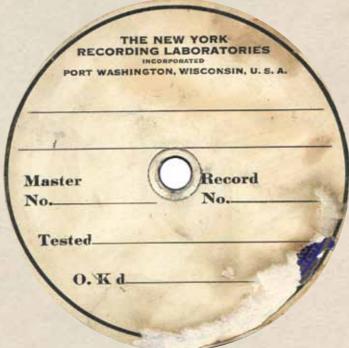
labels, ca. September 1927.







UNITED PHONOGRAPHS CORPORATION SHEBOYGAN, WISCONSIN, U.S.A. Master Record No.



Post-merger "hybrid" label for 1924 Paramount re-release of previously issued Black Swan titles, issued in a special block of the Race series from catalog no. 12100 to 12189.

UPC test pressing of "Ave Maria" by Richard Czerwonky, later released on Pm 50049, 1920.

Right: Generic NYRL test pressing label, ca. 1924.

During its life, the Broadway imprint was pressed both in NYRL's own factories and by Connecticut outfit Bridgeport Die & Machine (BD&M), under contract to NYRL. Beginning with BD&M's bankruptcy in summer 1925 Broadway was pressed exclusively by NYRL in Grafton.

BROADWAY

1035-B

For Trot
Vocal Chorus

Lay Me Down To Sleep In Caroline
(Jack Yellen - Milton Ager)

Sam Lanin and His Orchestra
Vocal Chorus: Jerry Underhill

876



II, ca. 1926;
"Electrically
Recorded" at
3 o'clock, no
manufacturing
credit.

NYRL version

NYRL version

I, 1926; blue label, no manufacturing

credit.

Left: NYRL version III, ca. 1927; "Electrically Recorded" below label name; no manufacturing credit.

Right: NYRL version IV, ca. 1927; manufacturing credit added.









Left: BD&M version I, early 1920s.

Right: BD&M version II, early 1920s.



BD&M version III, ca. 1925. NYRL's Famous popular dance series started around 1921 and ran through 1924, comprising both a 3000 and 5000 series. A 7000 series is also known to exist. None of its records shows manufacturing credits.





Left: Famous version I, 1921.

Right: Famous version II, 1922.

Left:

1922.

Right:

Famous

version IV,

1923. Note

Hunter under

her May Alix pseudonym.

Alberta

Famous

version III,

Statuous

IEG. U. S. Hart OFF.

3148-B For Trol

Listening on the Radio
June: Pomble Red (From the Zirefeld Pobles of 1922)
(Louis Himb)

Frisco Syncopators
1099



Puritan was first produced by NYRL predecessor entity United Phonographs Corp. (UPC) around 1917. Lowest-numbered releases found to date are in the 2000 (9" vertical cut) series, but there also may have been a 1000 series that predates this. UPC was replaced by the NYRL imprint beginning ca. March 1922. Regular commercial issues continued until 1927; therafter NYRL only produced Puritan for ethnic markets, through 1930.





217

Left:
Puritan
version I,
1917-18;
UPC-produced, with
medallion at
top showing Puritan
girl seated at
spinet;
"Vertical Cut"
at 9 o'clock.

Right: Puritan version II, 1917-18; "Vertical Cut" legend omitted.





Left:
Puritan
version III,
1919; "75c in
USA" legend.

Right:
Puritan
version IV,
1919; black,
brown and
gold label,
downsized
medallion,
manufacturing credit
at 6 o'clock,
Puritan in
different
script.

Left:
Puritan
version V,
1919-20;
different
phonograph
in medallion,
Puritan in
simplified
script.

Right:
Puritan
version VI,
ca. 1920;
medallion
replaced by
"America's
Best Record",
Puritan name
in Gothic
script.

Left:
Puritan
version VII,
ca. 1922; blue
with gold
lettering,
simplified vine
motif, UPC
manufacturing
credit in one
line around
bottom rim.

Right: Puritan version VII, black variation, ca. 1922.











Left:
Puritan
version VIII,
ca. 1922;
denotes List
Price, manufacturing
credit is
New York
Recording
Laboratories,
Inc., Port
Washington,
Wis.

Right: Paramount version IX, ca. 1923; "Price 75c".





Left:
Puritan
version X,
ca. 1924;
German-oriented series,
no manufacturing credit.

Right: Puritan version XI, ca. 1924; price omitted. Left:
Puritan
version
XI, black
variation,
ca. 1924.

Right:
Puritan
version XII,
ca. 1927;
"Electrically

Left:
Puritan
version XIII,
ca. mid-20s;
Puritan
release
produced for
Hagen Import

Co., with

"Electrically Recorded" in italics.

Recorded"

at 3 o'clock.

Right:
Puritan
version XIV,
ca. early
1927; vine
motif further
simplified,
"Electrically
Recorded"
beneath label
name.





From March 1922 to around May of 1924, Bridgeport Die & Machine (BD&M) produced a version of the Puritan label under license from NYRL, for BD&M's sales on the East Coast. Adding to the confusion about the BD&M-produced series, BD&M initially used the unique "Pilgrim" style label but later reverted to the "grape-leaf" design already in use by NYRL Puritan; further, several 1922 releases appeared under both BD&M and NYRL versions of the label. By 1924 when it began using Emerson masters, BD&M was substituting Puretone for Puritan labels.





Left: BD&M Puritan version I, ca. 1922, featuring the Puritan "Pilgrim".

Right: BD&M Puritan version II, ca. 1922-23, reverting to the "grape leaf".



BD&M Puritan version III; ca. 1924, BD&M replaces Puritan with Puretone.





Front (far left) and back (near left) of Paramount sleeve, ca. 1918. 224





Front (far left) and back (near left) of Paramount sleeve, ca. 1919.



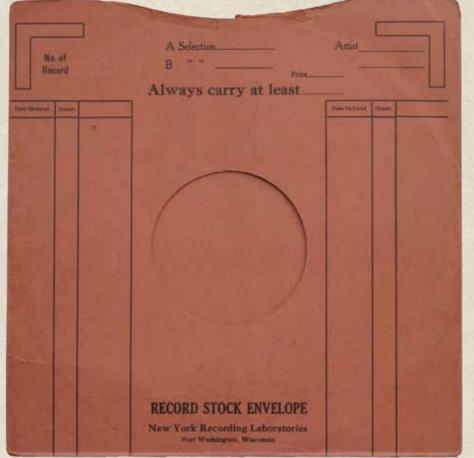


Front (far left) and back (near left) of Paramount sleeve, ca. 1924.









Front (top) and back (bottom) of 1927 sleeve. Top: Paramount sleeve, ca. 1927.

Bottom:
New York
Recording
Laboratories
plain record
stock envelope,
undated.



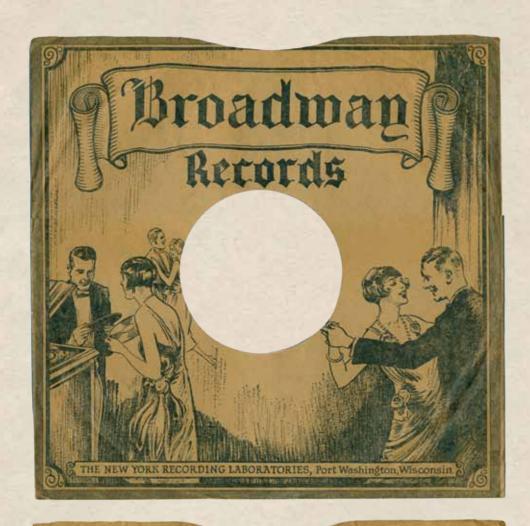


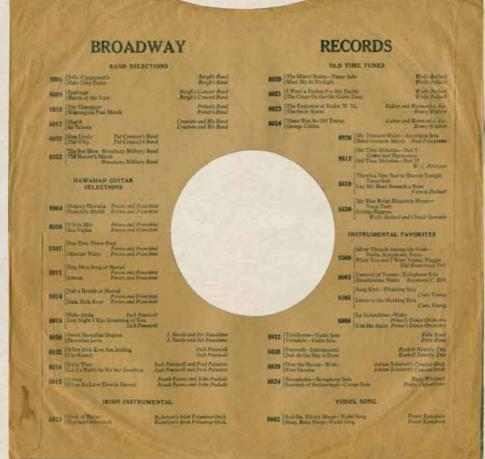




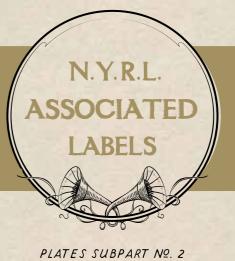
Puritan sleeves produced by United Phonographs Corporation (top) and New York Recording Laboratories (bottom), 1919.

Front of Famous Records sleeve, ca. 1921.





Front (top) and back (bottom) of Broadway Records sleeve, 1926.



Label and sleeve art of imprints with which Paramount and New York Recording Laboratories are believed to have been associated.

NYRL pressed records as a contract manufacturer for Black Swan from 1921 until 1924, when Black Swan could no longer pay its pressing bill. To settle its debt, Black Swan agreed to have NYRL assume its assets, and NYRL later re-released many Black Swan titles under its Paramount brand.



2013-A Since You Went Away (Rosamond & James W. Johnson) J. Arthur Gaines Black Swan Trio PI28-2
PI28-2
PI28-2 P128-2



Black Swan

versions I

(pale orange

top right), II

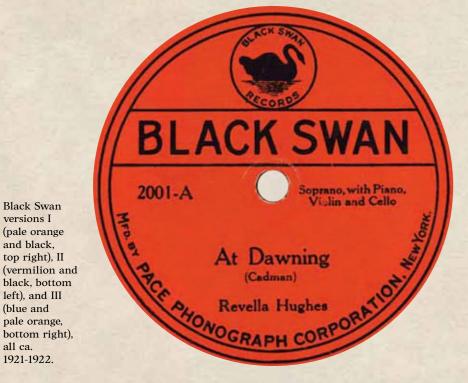
left), and III

pale orange,

(blue and

1921-1922.

and black,









Black Swan version III, green (top left), purple (top right) and red (bottom left) variations, all ca. 1921-1922.





Black Swan version IV, ca. 1922-23; orange, black and white, "meta" swan

Claxtonola, produced by the Brenard Manuf. Co. in Iowa, adopted

Paramount's numbering convention but substituted a 4 for the lead 2 in Paramount's 20000 popular series. Both records ca. 1922-23.

NYRL leased its master recordings to numerous—mostly smaller, regional—labels to issue on their own imprints. Those featured here ran entire series of releases which interlocked with Paramount's own series.









lue Bird (left), based in California, used NYRL masters exclusively starting in 1920.



Other small, regional labels used NYRL masters without interlocking series, including Everybodys, Harmograph, Herwin and Radiex.





Right: Harmograph used masters from various companies, including NYRL (between 1922-1924).





Norfolk Jubilee Quartette under pseudonym on Herwin, 1927. In addition to its involvement in versions of the Broadway and Puritan labels, Bridgeport Die & Machine (BD&M) also produced a number of other label imprints (for itself or its clients) for which it made use of NYRL master recordings, including Chautauqua, Mastertone, Davega, Joy, Gobbly Wobblyn, Triangle, Belvedere, Ross Stores, Resona, Pennington, Music Box, and Carnival; all ca. 1922-24.

























NYRL also used masters from other companies, issuing titles which had already been released by labels like Arto, Emerson, Olympic and the tiny Kansas City, MO imprint Meritt (whose entire output numbered seven total releases), run by future Paramount recording artist Winston Holmes.









In its quest to find additional revenue streams, NYRL also provided a custom-pressing service for big companies like Chevrolet and individuals like Axel Christensen.





Left:
Puritan
shaped
label used
for custom
pressed
records.





Polish custom pressed records, 1925.

Meritt masters by Rev. Gatewood were later released on Paramount and Herwin under pseudonyms and different titles. Other associated labels, with which NYRL shared masters, recording engineers and studio facilities, or, in the case of Black Patti, one of its key employees.







Ca. 1926, Sears, Roebuck &

Co. released NYRL masters on their Silvertone 3500 series as well as on

Challenge. Record

features Lovie Austin

under pseudonym.

Left and top right: Autograph was the label owned and run by Chicago recording engineer and studio owner Orlando Marsh, with whom Paramount contracted to record the bulk of their output from roughly 1923-29.







Black Swan Records sleeve, ca. 1922.





The Rise & Fall of Paramount Volume One, 1917-1927

The first installment of *The Rise & Fall of Paramount* (1917-1932), a two-volume omnibus of words, images and music in a limited-edition cabinet-of-wonder format.

Alex van der Tuuk | Alkmaar, The Netherlands
Third Man Records | Nashville, Tennessee
Revenant Records | Austin, Texas
New York Recording Laboratories, Inc. | Port Washington, Wisconsin

Producers: Alex van der Tuuk, Jack White, Dean Blackwood

Its Entirety:

Research, Writing, & Archival Collections: Alex van der Tuuk Discographic Research & Practice: Dr. Guido van Rijn Analog-To-Digital Remastering & Sound Program Design: Christopher C. King, Long Gone Sound Productions Digital Mastering & Audio Restoration: David Glasser, Anna

Art Direction & Design: Jack White, Dean Blackwood

Production Design: Susan Archie, World of an Archie

Frick at Airshow, Boulder, CO

Track Selection and Programming: Dean Blackwood, with Jack White, Christopher King & Alex van der Tuuk

Its Component Parts:

The Red Book

Writing & Research: Scott Blackwood

Consulting, Research & Archival Materials Management:
Alex van der Tuuk

Illustrations & Hand-Lettering: Katie Deedy

Design: Dean Blackwood

Production Design: Susan Archie

Chapter Head Letterpress Block-Cutting and Printing:

Bryce McCloud

Illustration & Hand-Lettering: Katie Deedy

Laser, Letterpress, Wood, Paper & Foil-Based Arts: Bryce

McCloud, Isle of Printing

MP3 Player App Development: Jeff Economy Chiaroscuro Ink Studies: Tony Mostrom

Vinyl Sciences & Logistics: Ben Blackwell

Community Programs: Ben Swank Curatorial Assistance: Pete Whelan

Manufacturing Partner: Integrated Communications – Los Angeles

(icla.com)

Photo Research and Licensing (Narrative Section): Cynthia Sesso / CTSIMAGES (ctsimages.com)

Digital Graphics Restoration: Cynthia Zarrilli (lead), Noella Chase, Stephanie Nathania, Vera Salom, Tonya Sims, Tammy Sutton

Indexing: Tom Caw, with Ed Komara

Editorial Assistance: Ed Komara, Pete Whelan Liminal Typeface: Matteo Bologna, Mucca Design

The Blue Book:

Artist Biographies: Alex van der Tuuk, Chris Hillman, Ed Komara, Kip Lornell, Tony Russell, Russ Shor, Paul Swinton, Jerry Zolten Artist Sessionographies: Alex van der Tuuk, Dr. Guido van Rijn Paramount & Black Patti Discographies: Dr. Guido van Rijn,

Alex van der Tuuk

Chiaroscuro Artist Portraits: Tony Mostrom

The USB Device:

Chicago Defender Ad Research: Susan Archie

Chicago Defender Ad Restoration: Susan Archie, Cynthia Zarrilli, Noella Chase, Stephanie Nathania, Vera Salom, Tonya Sims, Tammy Sutton

"Reproducer" Housing Concept: Jack White

The Recordings:

Analog-To-Digital Remastering & Sound Program Design: Christopher C. King, Long Gone Sound Productions Digital Mastering & Audio Restoration: David Glasser, Anna

Frick at Airshow, Boulder, CO

The LPs:

Lacquer Mastering: George Ingram, Nashville, TN
Pressing: United Record Pressing, Nashville, TN
Consulting & Program Management for Foil Labels:
Bryce McCloud, Isle of Printing

The White Birch LP Folio:

Concept, Industrial Design & Engineering: Bryce McCloud, Isle of Printing

Design: Bryce McCloud, Dean Blackwood, Trent Thibodeaux, with Julian Baker

Production Design: Bryce McCloud, with Dean Blackwood

The Quarter-Sawn Oak Box:

Concept, Research & Furniture Apprenticeship: Jack White Art Direction and Design: Jack White, Dean Blackwood

Additional Design: Susan Archie, Julian Baker Water Transfer Design: Julian Baker Metal ID Tag Design: Julian Baker

Additional Limited-Edition Promotional Items (only available from Third Man):

The Paramount Papercut Accordion Book:

Design and Handcut Original: Elsa Mora (ArtisaWay.com)

Vector-Based Design, Manufacturing Consultancy and
Lasercut Prototype: Bryce McCloud, Isle of Printing

"Field Manual" Design: Dean Blackwood, with Trent Thibodeaux

Production Design: Susan Archie Layout Assistance: Liz Newkirk

Indexing: Ed Komara

Editorial Assistance: Ed Komara

GUI & Housing Design: Dean Blackwood MP3 Player Program Design: Jeff Economy MP3 Player Programming: Martin Doudoroff Illustrations: Katie Deedy, Dean Blackwood

Die-Cut and Blind-Embossed Gold Foil Labels: Svend Thomsen **Label & LP Design:** Dean Blackwood, Susan Archie, with Bryce

McCloud, Katie Deedy

Production Design: Susan Archie Vinyl Science Liaising: Ben Blackwell

1924 & 1927 "Book of the Blues" Paramount Catalogs & Vista Brochure:

Re-Creation, Design, Production Design: Susan Archie

Medallion Design: Dean Blackwood, with Trent Thibodeaux

Fabric Sleuthing: Susan Archie

Prototype Construction: Kevin Childress **Prototype Wrangling:** Ben Swank

The Icons of the Invisible Order of Paramount:

Design: Bryce McCloud, Dean Blackwood

Letterpress & Lasercut Wood Veneer Trading Cards & Mailer:

Bryce McCloud, Isle of Printing

©® 2013 Third Man Records - Revenant Records 623 7th Avenue South Nashville, TN 37203 thirdmanrecords.com 248

Sources for Featured Images (by page):

Chris Albertson (Various *Chicago Defender* ads, pp. 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 146, 147, 150, 158, 164, 166-67, 171, 176, 178, 184, 190, 191, 198, 199)

Mark Berresford (1926 Paramount Records catalog, p. 144)

Peter Brown ("Half Cup of Tea," p. 187)

Robert Coon (Blind Lemon Jefferson publicity photo, p. 86; Blind Blake publicity photo, p 93; Vista Talking Machine poster, p. 97; Operating Instructions, p. 101; Paramount logo, p. 103; Puritan Records window display, p. 104; Puritan brand phonograph brochure, p. 106; Puritan brochure, pp. 122-123; 1923 Puritan Records catalog, p. 124; Charlie Jackson flyer, p. 134; Paramount Records catalog supplement, p. 145; Broadway Records window display, p. 149; Boerner bulletin, pp. 151-152; Paramount Records catalog cover, p. 154; Paramount envelope, p. 155; "Coal Man Blues" banner, p. 159; NYRL envelope, p. 160; Blind Blake banner, p. 161; catalog cover, 1927, p. 162; Paramount catalog supplement, p. 163; promo flyer, p. 165; postcard order form, p. 168; "Snatch It Back" flyer, p. 169; Blind Lemon Jefferson engraving, p. 170; Paramount portable flyer, p. 173; various NYRL letterhead, pp. 174-175; Old Time Tunes cover, P. 177; "Dead Drunk Blues" flyer, p. 179; "Lost Man Blues" flyer, p. 180; "You Shall," p. 181; "Treat 'em Right," p. 182; order blank, p 188; "Beale Towne Bound," p. 193; Order Blank, p. 194; release list, p. 195; "Midnight Hour," p. 196; "Jazzin' the Blues," p. 197; marbled shellac, p. 205; Paramount labels, pp. 206-211; NYRL test pressing, p. 213 (bottom right); Famous labels, p. 216; Paramount sleeve, pp. 222-223; stock sleeve, p. 229; Claxtonola sides, p. 236; National label, p. 237; Joy label; p. 240; Karpathia, Mermaid and Chevrolet labels, p. 243)

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Mike Hatfield (Paramount needles, p. 102)

Tom Kelly (Label pic: Axel Christensen, p. 243)

Dennis Klopp (Paramount needles, p. 99; shipping crate label, p. 111; Ma Rainey Blues needles, p. 117)

Johan Kugelberg (Paramount catalog cover, p. 136)

Ross Laird (UPC test pressing, p. 213 (bottom left))

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Ozaukee County Historical Society (Paramount letterhead, p. 148)

Paramountshome.org [Angela Mack-Reilly and Alex van der Tuuk] (Broadway Records display, p. 156; promotional flyers, pp. 157, 181; "Slow Driving Moan" flyer, p. 183; Dealer's List, p. 185; "Sell The Country Trade," p. 186; Paramount catalog, p. 200) Thanks to Mike Hatfield.

Guido van Rijn (Label pic: The Cook, p. 237)

Robin and Joan Rolfs (Puritan fan, p. 105)

Kathleen Burke Siciliano (Label pics: Triangle, p. 241; Arto, p. 242)

Russ Shor (Label pics: Black Swan test, p. 234 (top left); Gobbly Wobblyn, p 240)

Allan Sutton (Flo Bert photo, p. 112; Jack Penewell flyer, p. 135)

Paul Swinton (photos of O'Bryant's Washboard Band, Arnold & Irene Wiley, pp. 11, 75, 79)

Alex van der Tuuk (Preface, opposite page (based on illustration from Alex van der Tuuk); Ashby Furniture, p. 98; early Paramount ad, p. 100; Music Lovers, p. 107; Niebel Bros., p. 110; "Crisis" ads, pp. 121, 153; 1925 Paramount Records catalog, pp. 132-133; "Snatch It Back" flyer, p. 169; "Fore Day Creep" p. 172; Paramount catalog cover, p. 189; "He's In the Jailhouse Now," p. 192; metal tag, p. 201; Laibly telegram, p. 202; Paramount sleeve, p. 229; Black Swan sleeve, p. 245; C.O.D. sticker, p. 250)

John Wilby (label pics: Puretone, p. 221; Everybodys p. 238; Carnival, p. 239; Music Box, p. 240; Ross Stores, p. 241; Resona, p. 241; Pennington, p. 241; Silvertone, p. 244)

Marshall Wyatt/Old Hat Records (J.O. Hanes, Ma Rainey picture labels, p. 212)

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Jerry Zolten



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